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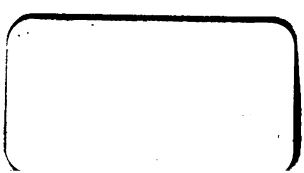
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ADVENTURES

OF

BRITISH SEAMEN.

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VOL. IV.

ADVENTURES OF BRITISH SEAMEN



Engraved on Steel by W. Archibald

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE & Co.
1827.

ADVENTURES

OF

BRITISH SEAMEN

IN

THE SOUTHERN OCEAN,

DISPLAYING

THE STRIKING CONTRASTS

WHICH THE HUMAN CHARACTER EXHIBITS

IN AN

UNCIVILIZED STATE.

Hugh Murray

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EDINBURGH:
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1827.

PREFACE.

The vicissitudes of a life at sea are more striking, and calculated to excite a deeper interest, than any other which the circle of real life presents. The continued change of scene, and the extreme peril which every moment impends over the mariner, render his life a scene of perpetual excitement. This is most particularly the case, when his course is through vast and distant oceans, and towards savage shores, where human safety exists in a form wholly different from any to which he has been accustomed. All the voyages through the Pacific are therefore interesting; yet those made under prosperous auspices, and with an united crew

are neither so eventful, nor calculated to give such striking views of human nature, as others, where mutiny, disaster, shipwreck and desertion, have thrown the crews entirely at the mercy of the elements, or of the savage natives. A selection, therefore, of some remarkable recent instances of this nature appeared to form an appropriate part of a Miscellany, of which the object is to combine instruction with rational amusement.

The adventure of Captain Wilson, cast away upon the Pelew Islands, a hitherto unknown group, and received there with a kindness which places the character of untutored man in its most amiable light, would, it was conceived, form a peculiarly interesting part of the present volume. An excellent narrative, which appeared at the time, with some additions, has, it is hoped, enabled us to condense all that is valuable in this beautiful and eventful story.

The violent mutiny which broke out in the Bounty, sent out under Captain Bligh to the South Sea with a patriotic object,

gave rise to a series of adventures of the most striking description, and in which all the extremes both of civilized and savage life were displayed with peculiar force. The almost miraculous preservation of Captain Bligh, and the remnant of his crew;—the voyage and shipwreck of the Pandora, sent out to discover and punish the guilty;—last of all, the establishment of the mutineers on Pitcairn's Island, and thus the formation of an European society upon a solitary island in the heart of the Pacific:—these form a chain of events, which, taken in connexion, surpass in novelty and interest any thing that is almost ever presented in ordinary life.

The last part of the volume, narrating the catastrophe of a crew on the coast of New Zealand, presents an adventure truly tragical, and places in a strong light the character of a race, in whom many amiable qualities are wildly and strangely united with the most savage barbarism.

H. MURRAY.

Edinburgh,
February 1827.

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I.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SHIPWRECK

OF

THE ANTELOPE

IN AUGUST 1783;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PELEW ISLANDS

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

SHIPWRECK

OF

THE ANTELOPE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Narrative comprises the adventures of a body of British seamen, who were cast upon an unknown shore of the southern ocean. There, a people scarcely known even by name, and accounted peculiarly savage, received and treated them with a kindness which would have done honour to the most civilized society. This relation unfolds so eventful a story, and presents human nature under so new and pleasing a light, that a condensed and corrected republication of it may form, it is hoped, an acceptable part of the present volume.

Nothing, as Mr Keate observes, can be more interesting to man than the history of man. The manners of civilized nations bear a strong resemblance to each other; whereas, in countries which science or the arts of refinement have never reached, we observe a wonderful disparity. Some are found in that state of darkness and absolute barbarism, from the view of which

humanity gladly turns aside, while others, by the mere force of natural good sense, have not only emerged from this gloom, but have nearly attained that order, propriety, and good conduct, which constitute the essence of real civilization. Such a people, who do honour to the name of man, have been brought to the knowledge of Europe by the events which attended the catastrophe which is here to be related.

The present narrative is not more marked by novelty than by authenticity. Captain Wilson, indeed, had neither the leisure nor the habits of composition which suited him to the task; but it was undertaken by Mr Keate, his intimate friend, into whose hands he put all his journals and papers, and gave the most ample oral information respecting all that had passed at Pelew. Mr Keate also communicated fully with several of the other officers; and when, from these various materials, he had drawn up his narrative, it was revised in the most careful manner by Captain Wilson, whose character and integrity are above all suspicion. Finally, the narrative was published while many of the original eye-witnesses were yet alive; and an expedition, sent to the same islands under other commanders, brought back accounts that were every way in perfect accordance with those of Captain Wilson and his crew.

Mr Keate's narrative, which was somewhat bulky and diffuse, has been abridged in a pleasing and judicious manner in a little volume, entitled, "Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Antelope, East India Pacquet, on the Pelew Islands,

situated on the western part of the Pacific Ocean, in August 1783, (12mo, Morison and Son, Perth, 1788.)" This volume forms the basis of what is now presented to the reader. The style has undergone considerable revision, and a number of passages in Mr Keate's original, which appeared more full and interesting than in the abridgement, have been incorporated with it; particularly those which relate to the adventures and fate of Lee Boo. A summary has been given from Mr Pearce Hockin's Supplement, * and from other sources, of what has since transpired respecting the history and condition of the Pelew islands.

Before introducing our readers to the narrative, which made known to Europe this new and interesting people, it may not be unacceptable to collect into one view such slight notices of their existence as had been obtained by former navigators.

There is no geographical feature which has more eluded the active search of modern naval discovery, than that long range of islands known by the name of the Carolinas. The Pelew group, which forms the most westerly portion of it, is not quite eight degrees of longitude to the east of the Philippines, an early and extensive settlement of the Spaniards. Yet that people had never gained any information at all

* A Supplement to the History of the Pelew Islands, compiled from the Journals of the Panther and Endeavour, two vessels sent by the Honourable East India Company to those islands in the year 1790; and from the oral communications of Captain H. Wilson. By the Reverend John Pearce Hockin, of Exeter College, Oxford, M. A. 4to. Lond. 1803.

precise or positive on the subject. A general impression prevailed, that this part of the ocean was shallow, and encumbered with reefs, which rendered navigation dangerous. The galleons were, therefore, instructed to steer to the northward, avoiding even the Ladrones, and not to take any easterly course till they had reached the clear expanse of the Pacific.

The first discovery of the Pelew Islands appears to have been made by Sir Francis Drake; for we agree with Captain Burney in thinking, that the islands which he met with in the latitude of eight degrees north could not well be any other than these. We are very sorry to be obliged to add, that the impression received by that great navigator was not at all flattering, or corresponding to that which will be conveyed in the following pages. He even bestowed upon them the appellation of the "Islands of Thieves." It must be observed, at the same time, that we have heard the statement of only one party, founded, too, on very short experience. It is admitted, that at first they behaved extremely well; but there was soon observed a disposition to receive without giving any thing in return; and on the English refusing, perhaps in somewhat of a rough manner, to deal on such terms, the natives let fly a shower of stones. Our countrymen thereupon discharged a great gun over their heads, which caused them speedily to make off; but they were succeeded by others, who showed themselves still more hostilely inclined, and the conclusion was, that "they could not be got rid of, till they had been made to feel smart as well as terror." Drake men-

tions the blacking of their teeth, and says, that many had their nails very long, and their ears cut round in a peculiar manner.

In 1686, Don Francisco Lazeano, in sailing from the Ladrones, discovered a large island, to which, in honour of the reigning monarch, he gave the name of La Carolina. This appellation, converted into a plural, was afterwards applied to the whole of this extensive group. Quiroga, governor of the Ladrones, sent an expedition to search for this new discovery; but the vessel returned without having been able to find a trace of this or any other island.

At the Philippines, meantime, though no attempts were made to explore the islands to the eastward, considerable curiosity is said to have been excited by several circumstances. Among these is particularly mentioned large smokes, seen to the eastward by fishermen from Mindanao, who had gone farther out to sea than usual, and also from the top of the mountains of Samar. The former case is probable, but the latter must have been a complete illusion, since Samar is at least 400 miles distant from Pelew, or any part of the Carolina range. The first certain information was obtained from a body of seventy-nine natives, who, being driven out to sea by a tempest, succeeded, after a navigation of seventy days, in reaching the port of Guivam. Father Clain, who gives the account, calls them, and the islands from which they came, *Palaos*. Mr Keate derives this term from the Spanish word *Palos*, masts, supposing that this idea was suggested by the tall palm trees which were seen growing in great abundance. The derivation

appears to us very fanciful, especially as there is not the least rumour of any Spaniards having sailed near or seen these islands; and the knowledge respecting them is reported as drawn solely from the accounts of the shipwrecked natives. Palaos appears very clearly to be a mere variation or corruption of Pelew. Nor can we perceive upon what grounds Mr Keate concludes, that "whoever peruses these accounts with attention, will instantly perceive that they relate solely to the new Carolines." On comparing them with those given of the Pelew islanders in his own book, there appears to us a very striking coincidence. These people, according to Father Clain, were of a very dark colour, and wore scarcely any clothes, but had their bodies tattooed all over. There were on their islands neither cows, horses, dogs, or quadrupeds of any description. They had no domestic fowls except hens, the eggs of which were not used as food. Their only cutting instruments were made of shells, sharpened upon a species of stone. They were, notwithstanding, cheerful, contented with their condition, and very peaceable. They had no idols nor form of religious worship, but paid much respect to the king and the officers under him. They were lively and curious, and showed extreme surprise at the variety of new objects which an European town presented to them. They were astonished by the solemnities of the church, by the music and dancing of the Spaniards, and, above all, by the effects of gunpowder. They valued iron as if it had been gold; and when they got a bit of this metal, it under their head when they went to sleep.

Their only support on the voyage had been the fish which they could take, and the water collected in cocoa-nut shells.

This incident excited a considerable sensation in the Philippines, and the governor sent a vessel under Don Francis Padilla, with a crew of eighty-six men, to gain every possible information respecting these islands. He was also accompanied by two Jesuit missionaries, Duberon, and Cortil, who were to be left for the conversion of the natives. They touched first at a small island, which they call Sonsorol, where they were well received, and where the two missionaries, with several of the natives, went ashore. After beating about for some time, they came to the largest island, called Panloque, probably a corruption of Pelew. Six boats came off, having eighty men on board, when several leaped into the sea, and swam towards the vessel. They then began to lay hold of bits of iron, a hammock, and other things which hung from its sides, with intent, as was, perhaps, too harshly supposed, to steal them. Under this impression, the captain ordered his men to stand to their arms. Hereupon the natives promptly regained their boats, and began rowing towards land; but, in parting, let fly a shower of arrows. This, by direction of the captain, was returned with a general charge of fire-arms, at which the Indians were so affrighted, that they leaped into the sea, and began swimming to land; but, on seeing that the firing ceased, they came again on board the boats, and rowed ashore with all expedition. Stress of weather afterwards obliged the Spaniards to return to Sonsorol, and

also to leave the coast of that island, and return to Manilla, without being able to take on board the two missionaries, who were never afterwards heard of.

Another event, similar to the former, brought the Caroline Islands again under notice of the Spaniards. In 1721, two strange barks, with about thirty persons on board, were driven upon the coast of Guam, one of the Ladrones. They came from the Carolines, but a different part of the range than the natives thrown ashore at the Philippines. They described the Palaos, or Panliew Islands, as the most westerly of five provinces, into which the Carolines in general were divided. They drew the most gloomy picture of its inhabitants, representing them as stark naked, eating human flesh, and viewed by the rest of the islanders with horror, as the common enemies of mankind. The missionary, Cantova, who transmits this dreadful account, says he has other reasons for believing it true. Such was the impression which remained in Europe regarding the Pelew islanders, strangely different from that which will be hereafter conveyed. The picture was certainly drawn by an enemy, and making allowance for this, and the exaggeration it prompted, we may remember, that the natives of Pelew, like other savages, did display towards their hostile neighbours, a ferocity of temper very different from that which prevailed in their domestic intercourse.

The Carolina natives spent about four months at Guam, during which time they busily employed themselves in collecting all the old nails,

and little bits of iron that could be found. They then expressed an anxious wish to return home without delay, declaring that otherwise life would be intolerable to them.

In 1731, a vessel was sent to the Caroline Islands, having on board the missionaries Cantova and Walter. They remained there, with the consent of the natives, for three months, at the end of which time, Walter returned to obtain some supplies which were found to be wanting. It happened to be two years before he was able to return. The vessel, on approaching the shore, was alarmed by seeing no trace of the house built, and of the cross set up on their first arrival. At length, four boats came out; but when the natives were asked respecting Cantova, their countenances became marked by the deepest terror, and, with loud cries, they leaped into the sea and swam ashore. The Spaniards succeeded in seizing one, from whom they learned the fatal tidings, which there was already no room to doubt. Cantova, having gone to baptize an Indian on a neighbouring island, was surrounded by the natives in great numbers, and with loud cries, which evidently announced the most bloody intent. He asked them why they should murder one who had never done them any injury. They replied, that he came to change their ancient customs and institutions, and that they would have nothing to do with the religion which he sought to introduce. They then run him through the body with three lances, massacred his three attendants, and then set out in their boats for the Spanish house, determined at once to root out the

settlement. It was defended by four men, who, by their fire-arms, made the assailants pay dear for the gratification of this furious animosity; but, at length, overpowered by numbers, they all shared the fate of their leader. There perished, on this occasion, eight Spaniards, four Indians, and one slave.

After this tragical issue, the whole of the Carolines were allowed to relapse into that oblivion from which they had temporarily emerged. Although they lay in the most direct line across the Pacific, yet Cook and the other great navigators who paved a route, as it were, through this vast ocean, were led, by peculiar circumstances, to go considerably either to the south or north of that line; either to the Australasian regions, or to the northern coasts of Asia and America. The Palaos, or Pelew Islands, therefore, when the narrative of Captain Wilson's shipwreck appeared, formed a region, of which, generally speaking, even the name was unknown to the people of Europe.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTELOPE SAILS FROM MACAO—LIST OF THE CREW—DISTRESS—STRIKES ON A ROCK—LANDING—APPEARANCE OF NATIVES—INTERVIEW AND TRANSACTIONS WITH THEM—PARTICULARS CONCERNING RAA COOK, ARRA KOOKER, &c.

CAPTAIN Henry Wilson, of the Antelope Packet, in the service of the British East India Company, about 300 tons burden, sailed from Macao, in China, on her passage homeward, on Sunday the 20th July 1783. As in the seqnel of this narrative, there will be sometimes occasion to mention the names of the ship's company, the following list of them may be useful.

Names.	*Stations.*
Henry Wilson,	Commander.
Philip Benger, *since dead*,	Chief Mate.
Peter Barker,	Second Mate.
John Cummin,	Third Mate.
John Sharp,	Surgeon.
Arthur William Devis,	Passenger.
John Blanch,	Gunner.
William Harvey,	Boatswain.
John Polkinghorn,	Carpenter.
John Meale,	Cooper and Steward.
Richard Jenkins,	Carpenter's Mate.
James Swift,	Cook.
Richard Sharp,	Midshipman.

Henry Wilson Junr.	Midshipman, *son to the Captain.*
John Wedgebrough,	Midshipman.
Robert White,	Midshipman.
Albert Pierson,	Quarter Master.
Godfrey Minks, *since dead*,	Quarter Master.
Thomas Dutton,	Captain's Steward.
Thomas Rose, a Portuguese,	Linguist.

And, Matthias Wilson, the Captain's brother, Thomas Wilson, *(since dead)* Dedrick Windler, Zachariah Allen, John Cooper, James Bluitt, Thomas Castles, William Roberts, Nicholas Tyacke, William Steward, Madan Blanchard, Thomas Whitfield, William Cobbledick, and James Duncan, Seamen. Besides these, Captain Wilson was allowed sixteen Chinese, to keep the ship's complement of hands complete.

On Monday the 21st, they got clear out to sea, when they discharged the pilot, and took leave of several gentlemen who had accompanied them for a few leagues. From the 23d July to the 8th of August, they had very stormy unsettled weather, insomuch that their fore top-mast sprung, and all their live cattle died. On the 9th the weather became more moderate; and having opened their ports they dried the ship, examined their stores and provisions, and proceeded cheerfully on their voyage, flattering themselves that distress and danger were now fairly past; little foreseeing the heavy misfortunes which were so quickly to overtake them.

Early on Sunday morning, 10th October, a strong breeze sprung up, attended with much rain, thunder, and lightning. Captain Wilson had gone to bed about twelve, leaving Mr Benger, the chief mate, to command on deck. While the seamen were busied in reefing the sails, the man on watch exclaimed, *Breakers.* Scarcely had

he pronounced the word, when the ship struck. It is not easy to express the consternation which ensued; all who were in bed below, came immediately on deck, inquiring the cause of this sudden shock and confusion: too soon they learned their dismal situation; the breakers appeared alongside, with the rocks through them; in less than an hour the ship bulged, and filled with water up to the lower deck hatchways. During this tremendous interval, the seamen eagerly thronged round the captain, and besought him to direct them what to do, and his orders would be implicitly obeyed.

Captain Wilson's first orders were, to secure the gunpowder and small arms, and to get on deck the bread, and such other provisions as were liable to be spoiled by the water, covering them with tarpaulins, &c. to protect them from the rain. The ship threatened to overset; to prevent which, they cut away the mizen-mast, the main and fore top-masts, and lowered the fore and main-yards, to ease and preserve her as long as possible. The boats were then hoisted out, and filled with provisions; two men, with a compass, some small arms, and ammunition, being put into each, with directions to keep them under the lee of the ship, and to be ready to receive their ship-mates, in case the vessel should part by the violence of the wind and waves.

Every thing being now done that prudence could dictate in so awful a situation, the officers and people assembled on the quarter-deck, that part being highest out of the water, and best sheltered from the rain and sea by the quarter-boards; here they waited for day-light, in hopes

of seeing land, which as yet they had not been able to discern. During this interval, the anxiety and horror of which may more easily be imagined than described, Captain Wilson endeavoured to revive the drooping spirits of his crew, by reminding them, that shipwreck was a misfortune to which navigators were always liable; and that although theirs was rendered more difficult and distressing by its happening in an unknown and unfrequented sea, yet this consideration should only rouse them to greater activity, in endeavouring to extricate themselves: and, above all, he sought to impress on their minds, that misfortunes, such as theirs, had generally been rendered much more dreadful by the despair of the crew, and by their want of agreement among themselves. To prevent which, he most earnestly besought each of them, separately, on no account whatever, to taste any spirituous liquor. He had the satisfaction to find a ready consent given to this most important advice.

We have been the more circumstantial in our account of this part of their transactions, because we think a most valuable example is afforded by the presence of mind which was preserved, and the prudence that was exerted, by Captain Wilson in one of the most trying situations to which human nature can be exposed. It shows also, in the most favourable light, the temper and disposition of his officers, and of the whole crew.

As they were almost worn out by the excessive labour they had undergone, two glasses of wine and some biscuit were given to every one, and they waited for day-break with no little

anxiety, in hope of discovering land. Meantime, they endeavoured to support each other's spirits as much as possible, and by the captain's direction, put on as many clothes as it was possible to carry with them, in the event of getting safe from the wreck; and let it not be forgotten, to the honour of this crew, that the utmost cordiality prevailed among them; none attempted, in the hour of confusion, to touch his neighbour's property, nor to taste the *forbidden* spirits.

The dawn discovered to their view a small island, at the distance of about three or four leagues to the southward; and as the day-light increased, they saw more islands to the eastward. Their apprehensions were now on account of the natives, to whose dispositions they were perfect strangers: however, after manning the boats and loading them in the best manner they were able for the general good, they dispatched the crews to the small island, under the direction of Mr Benger, the chief mate, who was earnestly requested to establish, if possible, a friendly intercourse with the natives, if any were found, and carefully to avoid all disagreement with them, unless caused by the most urgent necessity. As soon as the boats were gone, those who were left in the ship began to get the booms over board, and to make a raft for their security, in case the Antelope should go to pieces, which was hourly expected: at the same time they were under the most painful apprehensions for the safety of the boats, on which all depended; not only on account of the natives, but of the weather, as it continued to blow very hard. But in the afternoon they hailed with inexpressible joy the

return of the boats, with the welcome news, that there was no appearance of inhabitants on the island: that they had found a secure harbour, well sheltered from the weather, and also some fresh water. They had landed the stores, and left them under charge of five of the men. This good account revived the crew, and they proceeded in completing their raft with fresh vigour, having got another glass of wine with biscuit. A very distressing accident, however, happened this day; the mizen-mast being found near the ship's stern, and part of the rigging entangled with the mizen chains, Godfrey Minks was employed to clear it, whilst doing which, he unluckily slipped over board: the boats were immediately sent to his assistance, but without effect.

Having finished the raft, they loaded it, as well as the jolly-boat and pinnace, with as many stores and provisions as they could contain, consistently with the safety of the people who were to be in them. As the day was advancing, the captain ordered the boatswain to wind his call, to summon all the people out of the ship; for, so busily were they employed in bringing as much as possible with them, that there was apprehension lest the main-mast might fall before they could be collected. Their feelings on quitting the Antelope, going they knew not whether, were of the most gloomy and anxious nature. The stoutest of the hands were put on board the pinnace, which took the raft in tow and moved slowly on, till they had cleared the reef; while the jolly-boat, which was of little service to the pinnace, proceeded alone to the shore, and conveyed the news to their companions that had been left in

the morning. They found a tent ready for their reception, and a spot of ground cleared for the stores, &c.

The situation of those aboard the pinnace and the raft, till they cleared the reef, was terrible indeed. The swell of the waves was such, that they repeatedly lost sight of each other, and those on the raft were obliged to tie themselves to the planks with ropes to prevent their being washed off; whilst the horror of the scene was increased by the screams of the Chinese, who were not accustomed to the perils of the element with which they were now contending.

When they had fairly cleared the reef, they got into deep smooth water, in the channel running between the reef and the islands; but, on approaching the land, they found a very strong current which drove them considerably to leeward. They soon found they could not resist its impetuosity, and, therefore, having brought the raft to a grapnel, all the hands got on board the pinnace, to relieve the rowers. Meanwhile, the cargo of the jolly-boat being unladen, Captain Wilson was returning in her, to assist those on board the pinnace. The night was by this time dark, and the captain overhearing them at a distance, hailed them. Those on board the pinnace, overjoyed at the near prospect of relief, returned the halloo, in so shrill and unusual a manner, that Captain Wilson immediately concluded they were natives. He formed this idea the more readily, from having just learned from those on shore, that various circumstances had led them to conclude, that there had been natives on that spot very lately; he, therefore, retreated to

the shore with the utmost precipitation. Happily, however, the crew were soon relieved by the arrival of the pinnace, when all the company shook hands together (need it be added) with great cordiality. They supped on cheese, biscuit and water, and having lighted a match by the discharge of a pistol, they kindled a fire in the cove, by which they dried their clothes and warmed themselves. The night proved very uncomfortable as the weather was exceedingly tempestuous, while the fear of the ship going to pieces before they could save such things as they needed, not a little heightened their distress. Lest they should be surprised by the natives, they set a watch, and slept on the ground by turns.

Next forenoon, (Monday the 11th,) proved very stormy; they in vain attempted to bring off the raft, and were obliged to leave it, bringing with them the sails and remainder of the provisions.

In the afternoon the weather was more moderate and the boats were dispatched to the ship to bring off what they could; while those on shore were employed in brushing up the small arms.

The evening set in very squally, and as the boats did not return from the ship till about ten o'clock, those on shore were not a little alarmed about them; nor were they much easier, when the chief mate and crew, who returned with the pinnace, brought the melancholy intelligence, that they did not conceive, from the badness of the weather, that the ship could hold together till morning, as she was beginning to part, the r or *wales* being started out of their places.

The ideas which had been fondly nursed, that when a calm succeeded there was a possibility she might be floated and repaired, so as to return to Macao, or some part of China, were, by this account, totally extinguished. The prospect now darkened round them, fear pictured strongly every danger, and hope could hardly find an opening through which one ray of consolation might shoot. They knew nothing of the inhabitants of that country where fate had thrown them; ignorant of their manners and dispositions, as well as of the hostile scenes they might have to encounter for their safety, they found themselves, by this sudden accident, cut off at once from the rest of the world, with little probability of ever escaping. Each individual threw back his remembrance to some dear object that affection had rivetted to his heart, who might be in vain looking out anxiously for the return of the father, the husband, or the friend, whom there was scarcely the most distant chance of their ever seeing any more. These reflections did not contribute to make the night comfortable; the weather was far more tempestuous than in the preceding one; but the clothes which the people had procured from the wreck proved a great comfort to them all, who were thereby enabled to have a change.

In the morning it blew exceedingly strong, so that the boats could not go off to the wreck; the men therefore employed themselves in drying their provisions, and forming better tents, from the materials which they had brought from the ship the day before. About eight o'clock in the morning, the people being employed as

above, and in clearing the ground from the wood which was behind the tents, Captain Wilson, with Tom Rose, a Malay, whom they had taken on board at Macao, being on the beach, collecting the fresh water which dropped from the rocks, saw two canoes, with men in them, coming round the point into the bay. This gave such alarm, that the people all ran to their arms; however, as there were but few of the natives, Captain Wilson desired them to keep out of sight, until they should perceive what reception he met with, but to be prepared for the worst. They soon perceived that the natives had seen the captain and Tom Rose, for they conversed together, and kept their eyes steadfastly fixed on that part of the shore where the English were. The natives advanced very cautiously toward the captain, and when they came near enough to be heard, he directed Rose to speak to them in the Malay language; which they at first did not seem to understand; but they stopped their canoes, and soon after one of them asked, in the Malay tongue, who our people were, and whether they were friends or enemies? Rose was directed to reply, that they were unfortunate Englishmen, who had lost their ship on the reef, but had saved their lives, and that they were friends. On this they seemed to confer together for a short time, and then stepped out of the canoes into the water, and went toward the shore. Captain Wilson instantly waded into the water to meet them, and embracing them in the most friendly manner, led them to the shore, and presented them to his officers, unfortunate companions. They were eight

in number, two of whom, it was afterwards known, were brothers to the Rupack, or King, of the neighbouring islands, and one was a Malay, who had been shipwrecked in a vessel belonging to a Chinese, resident on the island of Ternate, one of the same group of islands; he had been kindly treated by the king, who, he said, was a good man, and that his people also were courteous. He told them farther, that a canoe having been out fishing, had seen the ship's mast; and that the king, being informed of it, had sent off these two canoes at four o'clock that morning, to see what was become of the people who belonged to her; and they knowing of the harbour which the Englishmen were in, had come directly thither.

It being about the hour of breakfast, Captain Wilson, Tom Rose, and only a few others breakfasted with them; and in the course of a short conversation, they hinted a wish to be informed, by what means the *Malay* they had brought with them, had reached their islands. The *Malay*, who could indistinctly hammer out a few sentences both of Dutch and English, informed them, that he had formerly commanded a Chinese trading vessel, and about ten months since, on a voyage to Amboyna, had been cast away on a neighbouring island, from whence he had come to Pelew; this account they afterwards found reason to believe was not just. The Malay also mentioned, that one of the Pelew fishing canoes had observed the wreck, and, in consequence, these two canoes had been dispatched to succour the mariners if found. They disliked tea, but relished the sweet biscuits very

much; and in a short time grew very familiar and happy with the English.

It often pleases Providence, in the most trying hours of difficulty and distress, to throw open some unlooked-for source of consolation to the spirits of the unfortunate!—It was a singular accident, that Captain Rees of the Northumberland should, at Macao, have recommended to Captain Wilson, Tom Rose as a servant, who spoke the Malay language perfectly well. It was still a more singular circumstance, that a tempest should have thrown a Malay on this spot, who had, as a stranger, been noticed and favoured by the king, and having been near a year on the island previous to the loss of the Antelope, was become acquainted with the language of the country; by this extraordinary event, both the English and the inhabitants of Pelew had each an interpreter who could converse freely together in the Malay tongue. After breakfast Captain Wilson introduced the natives to several of his officers, and acquainted them with our mode of welcoming, by shaking hands, a custom which they never afterwards omitted on meeting any of the English.

The natives were of a moderate size, but admirably proportioned, and very muscular; their hair was long and black, rolled up in a peculiarly neat manner close to their heads; except the younger of the king's two sons, none of them had beards; they, in general, plucked out the hairs by the roots; and when they afterwards examined the persons of the Englishmen, they discovered not a little surprise that they could suffer hair to grow on their breasts. They were

perfectly naked, and their skin of a deep copper colour; only their thighs appeared much darker, from being tattooed very closely. They used cocoa-oil, rubbing it on their skins, which gave them a shining appearance, and great softness. The chief carried in his hand a basket of betel-nut, and a very neat bamboo, which contained what they called their *chinam;* this is coral burnt to a lime, with which they sprinkle the leaf of the betel-nut, and then chew it; this makes their saliva red, which, appearing betwixt their jet black teeth, occasions a very disagreeable contrast. They were conducted round the cove, and to the great surprise of the English, walked, though barefooted, on broken rock, shells, and thorny plants with the greatest ease, as if it had been the smoothest ground. They were now enabled to support a mutual conversation, by means of the *Malay-man,* on the part of the natives, and Tom Rose on that of the English, and thus had an opportunity of examining one another as to the different appearances which occasioned mutual surprise. From this first interval, as well as what happened afterwards, it was evident, the natives had never before seen a white man, and were ignorant of the existence of any such; the natural surprise at seeing them may therefore be conceived. The appearance of clothes was quite new; they began stroking the waistcoats and coat sleeves, at a loss to determine, whether the man and his dress were not of the same substance. One of their ideas was exceedingly natural; on observing the white skin intermixed with the blue veins, they supposed the latter to be the effects

of tattooing. But nothing afforded them greater surprise than the sight of two dogs belonging to the ship, which, immediately on their approach, set up a loud bark, to the great delight of the natives, who answered them in a shout almost as violent; the cause of this joy and surprise was explained to be, that, except a few grey rats, there are no quadrupeds on the island. Captain Wilson was exceedingly anxious to keep them ignorant of the nature and use of fire-arms; but one of them, accidentally picking up a small leaden bullet, was surprised at its weight, and examined the Malay about it, who requested one of our muskets, to explain it to him. They seemed very desirous that one of the English should go with them in their canoes to their king, that he might see what sort of beings white men were. Every one agreed that it would be right for some person to go; but as difficulties arose concerning who the person should be, the captain requested his brother, Mr Matthias Wilson, who readily consented; and about noon one of the canoes left the harbour with Mr Wilson; the other canoe, with four persons, among whom was Raa Kook, the elder of the king's brothers, and also general of his armies, remained with our people, of their own accord, until the canoe returned with Mr Wilson. The captain directed his brother to acquaint the king who they were; to relate to him, as well as he could, the nature of their misfortune; to solicit his friendship and protection, and permission to build a vessel to carry them back to their own country. He also sent a present to the king, consisting of a small remnant of blue

broad cloth, a canister of tea, another of sugar-candy, and a jar of rusk; the last article was added at the particular request of the king's two brothers.

The natives who remained, observing that our people had much trouble to procure the fresh water which they had occasion for, conducted them across a narrow part of the island, where it was more plentiful; and the road to it being rugged and difficult, they carried, in their arms, Mr Sharp, a youth of about fifteen years of age, who was sent on this duty, over the most difficult parts; they also carefully assisted the men, who brought two jars of water from the well.

The weather remained as bad as ever all the next night, but grew better in the morning, and about ten o'clock one of the boats went to the wreck. When they got there, they found that some of the natives had been on board; that they had carried off some iron-work, and other things; and, in particular, that they had rummaged the medicine-chest, and tasted several of the medicines, which being probably not very palatable, they had thrown out the contents, and carried off the bottles. This circumstance was made known to Raa Kook by the captain, not so much by way of complaint, as to express uneasiness for the consequences which might arise to the natives from their having tasted, or perhaps drunk, such a variety of medicines. Raa Kook's countenance fully expressed the indignation he felt at the treacherous behaviour of his countrymen. He desired, if they caught any of them attempting again to plunder the vessel, that they would kill them, and he would

justify the English to his brother for having done so: and he begged that Captain Wilson would entertain no uneasiness whatever on account of what the plunderers might suffer, because it would be entirely owing to their own misconduct.

The same evening, Captain Wilson made a proposition to his officers, the boldness and wisdom of which, the resolution manifested in its execution, with the unanimity and cheerfulness displayed by the crew in acceding to it, reflect the highest honour on all the parties concerned. Every one who knows any thing of seamen, knows that their grog "is the solace and joy of their lives;" grog softens all their hardships, and causes even the horrors of war to pass by unfelt; nor is there any undertaking so dangerous, or so desperate, that they will not most readily attempt for this reward, and scarcely a comfort in life that they will not forego rather than relinquish it. Yet Captain Wilson finding them rather noisy when they returned from the wreck, (owing to a little strong liquor which the officer who was then on duty had given them, and which, coming after long toil, and on an empty stomach, had operated powerfully, rather from these circumstances than from the quantity which they had drank,) it alarmed him so much, that he submitted to his officers the propriety of staving (with the consent of the people) every cask of liquor which was in the ship. He knew this was too bold a step to be taken without their consent, and was fully aware of the difficulty of obtaining it; but he trusted to the regard which they had for him, and his influence

over them ; and he intended to make the people themselves the executors of his purpose, while they were yet warm with the project. He had the satisfaction to find that his officers immediately acquiesced ; and the next morning he called all the crew together, and told them he had something to propose, in which their future welfare, nay, perhaps, their preservation, was most materially involved. He then submitted to their judgment the measure on which he and his officers had deliberated the evening before ; urged the propriety of it in the most forcible terms, as a step which would best promote the hope of deliverance from their present situation, and of seeing once more their own country, and those who were dear to them ; and he added, that however reluctantly they might yield to the proposition, yet the understanding of every individual amongst them must, on reflection, perceive that it was a measure absolutely necessary to be adopted. The moment he concluded, all the sailors, with the utmost unanimity, and to their lasting honour as men, replied, that however they might suffer from being deprived of their accustomed ratio of liquor, yet being sensible that, with easy access to it, they might not at all times use it with discretion, they gave their full assent to the captain's proposal ; and added, that they were ready to go directly to the ship, and stave every cask of liquor on board. This they most conscientiously performed ; and so scrupulously did they fulfil their pledge, that there was not a single man among them who would take even a farewell glass of his beloved cordial.

During the absence of Matthias Wilson, they had an opportunity of getting more intimately acquainted with Raa Kook, whom they found a most amiable character indeed. Observing a piece of polished bone around his wrist, they took occasion to inquire the meaning of it. He informed them, it was a mark of great distinction, conferred only on the Blood Royal, and principal officers of state; and that he enjoyed it as being the king's brother, and commander-in-chief of the forces both by sea and land. Raa Kook's friendship was therefore cultivated with all imaginable assiduity, and he in return showed himself attached to them by a most attentive politeness; he imitated them in all their actions, and on every occasion showed them how high an opinion he had formed of them. The *Malay*, on his first arrival, had requested the use of some clothing, which was readily granted, and an uniform coat with trowsers were at the same time given to Raa Kook, who put them on with great joy, often looking at himself, and saying, "Raa Kook Englees," but soon wearied of them, as he found them cumbersome, and deposited them among his curiosities. He examined into the causes and principles of whatever he saw, imitated the most minute action, and sought to give his aid in every thing, even to the cook in the task of blowing up the fire.

In the morning of the 24th, two canoes arrived, in which were Arra Kooker, the king's other brother, and one of the king's sons. They informed Captain Wilson that his brother was on his way back; but that the canoe in which

he was, could not make so much speed against the wind as theirs, which occasioned the delay. The king, by their means, offered them a hearty welcome to his territories, and assured them of his friendship and protection; he also desired them to build a vessel in any part of the island they inclined, and he and his subjects would willingly afford them every assistance in their power. Raa Kook then took his nephew and introduced him particularly to the captain and his officers; after which he conducted him round the cove, explained every thing according to the information he himself had just received, and seemed mightily pleased with his friend's astonishment. This young man was very well made, but had a slit in his nose, probably the consequence of a wound in battle.

In the forenoon, two boats were dispatched to the wreck. They found a number of the natives, in about twenty canoes, busied in examining the vessel: these Raa Kook soon dispatched, and on this, as well as every occasion, did every thing in his power to convince the English of his protection and friendship.

Meantime, the people were highly entertained with Arra Kooker, who proved to be a most facetious and entertaining person, possessing uncommon talents for mimickry and humour; he described, by many diverting signs, the terror of Matthias Wilson while at Pelew; indeed, he had been under very great apprehension; but they were all revived with his appearance, and the account he gave them of his embassy, in nearly the following words:

"On the approach of the canoe in which I went

to the island where the king lives, a vast concourse of the natives ran out of their houses to see me come on shore. The king's brother took me by the hand, and led me up to the town, where a mat was spread for me, on a square pavement, and I was directed to sit down on it. In a little time the king appeared, and being pointed out to me by his brother, I rose and made my obeisance after the manner of Eastern nations, by lifting my hands to my head, and bending my body forward; but he did not seem to pay any attention to it. I then offered him the presents which my brother had sent by me, and he received them in a very gracious manner. His brother now talked a great deal to him, the purport of which, as I conceived, was to acquaint him with our disaster and our number: after which, the king ate some of the sugar-candy, seemed to relish it, distributed a little of it to several of his chiefs, and then directed all the things to be carried to his own house. This being done, he ordered refreshments to be brought for me: the first consisted of a cocoa-nut shell of warm water, sweetened with molasses: after tasting which, he directed a little boy, who was near him, to climb a cocoa-nut tree, and gather some fresh nuts; he cleared one of them from the husk, and after tasting the milk of it, bade the boy present it to me, making signs for me to drink the milk, and then return the nut to him; and when I had done so, he broke the shell in two, ate a little of the meat, and then returned it to me to eat the rest. A great crowd of the natives had by this time surrounded me, who were curious and eager to examine my

clothes and person. Taking off my hat by accident, all who were present seemed struck with astonishment, which I perceiving, unbuttoned my waistcoat, and took my shoes from my feet, in order that they might see they were no part of my body; being of opinion, that at first sight of me, they entertained a notion that my clothes constituted a part of my person; for, when undeceived in this, they came nearer to me, stroked me, and put their hands into my bosom to feel my skin.

"As it began to be dark, the king, his brother, myself, and several others, retired into a large house, where supper was brought in, consisting of yams boiled whole, and others boiled and beaten together, as we sometimes do potatoes; there were likewise some shell-fish, but I could not determine what they were. After supper I was conducted to another house, at some distance from the first, by a female. Here I found at least forty or fifty men and women; and signs were made for me to sit or lie down on a mat, which seemed spread on purpose for me to sleep on: and after all the company had satisfied their curiosity by viewing me very accurately, they went to sleep, and I laid myself down on the mat, and rested my head on a log, which these people use as a pillow, and drew another mat, which also seemed laid for the purpose, over me. I was unable even to slumber, but lay perfectly still; and some considerable time after, when all was quiet, about eight men rose, and made two great fires at each end of the house, which was not divided by partitions, but formed one large habitation. This operation,

I confess, alarmed me very much indeed! I thought of nothing less, than that they were going to roast me, and that they had only laid themselves down, that I might drop asleep, when they might dispatch me in that situation. However, as there was no possibility of escaping, I collected all my fortitude, and recommended myself to the Supreme Disposer of all events. I lay still, expecting every moment to meet my fate; but, to my great surprise, after sitting a while to warm themselves, they all retired again to their mats, and stirred no more till day-light. I then got up, and walked about, surrounded by great numbers of men, women, and children; and, in a little time, was joined by the king's brother, who took me to several houses, in every one of which I was entertained with yams, cocoa-nuts, and sweetmeats. I was afterwards conducted to the king, to whom I signified, by signs, that I wished much to return to my brother: he understood me perfectly, and explained to me, by signs also, that the canoes could not go out, on account of the great wind. I spent the remainder of the day in walking about the island, and observing its produce, which consisted chiefly of yams and cocoa-nuts: the former they cultivate with great care, in large plantations, which are all in swampy watered ground, like the rice in India. The cocoa-nuts grow chiefly about their houses, as does also the betel-nut, which they chew like tobacco."

The favourable account which Mr Wilson brought, joined to the message the king had sent to the captain by his brother and son, put all our people into great spirits; so that they ap-

plied to their several avocations with redoubled vigour, and particularly to getting every thing they could from the wreck.

The number of the visitants increasing very fast, Captain Wilson judged it prudent to set a watch, their guests being previously apprised, lest the turning out suddenly under arms should occasion an alarm. Captain Wilson had kept all his crew under a regular course of exercise, so that they were very expert in handling their muskets, to the no small surprise of the natives. Arra Kooker having lent a most steady attention to the explanation that had been given of the use of these military weapons, (about which he had probably been talking with his brother the general,) seemed as if some sudden thought had at the moment started in his mind, calling out eagerly to Raa Kook, in these words, *Englees mora* (or go) *Artingall Pel'le, lew*, pointing to the northward and southward; then cried *Poo*, imitating the sound which our guns had been represented to him to make when fired.

Arra Kooker, as has been already hinted, was a most extraordinary character; he possessed expressive features, that clearly conveyed his meaning to those who were totally ignorant of his expressions. He was a man apparently about forty years of age; quite plump or rather round; he attempted at one time to wear trowsers, but found them very disagreeable; but was remarkably fond of a white linen shirt. One of the dogs was his great favourite, and whenever he approached him, the animal leaped and frisked about with every demonstration of joy. His talents for mimickry were great, and he soon dis-

covered and imitated many singularities about the strangers, by which they were distinguished from each other; in short, his lively sallies kept them all in spirits.

Thus, by the kindness of Providence, were these unhappy men brought from a state of the greatest distress, to a situation at least tolerable; indeed, had it not been for the dread of not accomplishing the building of another vessel to carry them to China, and thus being for ever deprived, in all human probability, of seeing their friends, their families, and country, they might have spent their time very comfortably.

CHAPTER II.

THE KING VISITS THEM—RECEPTION AND BEHAVIOUR—EXAMINES EVERY THING, AND IS PLEASED—FARTHER PROCEEDINGS—AT HIS REQUEST, FIVE MEN ARE SENT TO ASSIST HIM AGAINST ARTINGALL.

At day-break the king's son, accompanied by one of his uncles, launched their canoe, and went off to the ship; a number of canoes were seen approaching the harbour, and our people were informed that the king was coming. The king's canoe came forward between four others, two on each side of it, the rowers of which splashed the water about with their paddles, and flourished them over their heads in a very dexterous manner; and, as the king passed, the other canoes, that had lain to, closed his train, and followed him into the cove, sounding their conch shells. When they had come in as far as the tide would permit, it was signified to Captain Wilson that he should go out and meet the king; on which two of his own men took him up in their arms and carried him through the shallow water to the canoe, where the king was sitting on a stage built in the middle of it. He desired Captain Wilson to come into the canoe, which he did, and embraced him, informing him, through the interpreters, that he and

his friends were Englishmen, who had unfortunately lost their ship; but having saved their lives by landing on his territory, supplicated his permission to build a vessel to convey themselves back to their own country.

After a little pause, and speaking with a chief in a canoe next to him, (who they afterwards learnt was the chief minister), the king replied in the most courteous manner, that he was welcome to build, either at the place where he then was, or at his own island; told Captain Wilson, that the island he was then on was thought to be unhealthy; that he feared his people might be sickly if they staid on it before another wind set in, which he said would be in two moons; and that he might possibly be molested by the inhabitants of some of the neighbouring islands, who were at that time at war with him.

Captain Wilson expressed his acknowledgments for the condescension and goodness, which the king had testified toward him and his people; informing him at the same time, that as the island he was then on was far nearer to the wreck, from whence he had already got some stores on shore, and hoped still to get more, it would be attended with much inconvenience should he remove farther; therefore he would, with his permission, prefer remaining where he was, as his people could fear no enemies whilst they enjoyed his protection and friendship:—that he had a person with him very skilful in curing sickness, which made him perfectly easy on that account; but in case any of his people, during their stay there, should happen to fall ill, he would then avail himself of his goodness, and convey them for recovery to the better

air of his own island. With this answer the king seemed to be pleased and satisfied. Captain Wilson then made him a present of a scarlet coat; and, after some discourse, he made signs to go on shore: the men again took the captain up, as before; whilst the king stepped into the water, and waded to land.

The king was perfectly naked, nor had he any bone on his wrist, or any ornament of distinction. He bore a hatchet on his shoulder, the head of which was made of iron, a circumstance which much surprised our people, as all the other hatchets they had seen were of shell; the handle being formed in a sharp angle, stuck close to the shoulder, lying before and behind, and wanted no tying to keep it steady in walking. The king, on landing, looked about with the same kind of caution as his brothers, and those who came with them, had before done, on their first visit. Raa Kook met him on the shore, and, as he declined going into the tents, the English spread a sail for him to sit on, which he did, and clearly took and understood it as a mark of respect; the chief minister placing himself opposite to him, at the extremity of the canvass, whilst his two brothers, Raa Kook and Arra Kooker, sat on each side, at the extent also of the sail, forming, when thus arranged, a square. The principal chiefs and officers of state who accompanied him, seated themselves near; and behind these chiefs the large retinue of his own people, which filled his train, being about three hundred, formed a circle, not standing but squatting, in a position ready to rise up in an instant. Some tea was made, and offered him; he drank one cup, but did not seem to relish it.

After sitting a little while, he was presented with a remnant of scarlet cloth, and half a piece of long-cloth; and also had some ribands of different colours given to him, to distribute among his attendants; which he did immediately, and they, on receiving them, rolled them up very handily, for they had all been unrolled before to dry. During the time that they were rolling up the ribands, our people observed, by the gestures and looks of the natives, that each chief fixed his attention upon some particular person: this at the time alarmed them, apprehending that the individual each chief had particularly noticed, was singled out as his devoted prisoner; but they soon afterwards found the meaning to be quite contrary, and that the individual so selected was to be that chief's particular friend or guest. Captain Wilson then introduced his chief mate to the king, as the first officer under him, whom Abbá Thulle styled the *Kickaray*† *Rupack*, conceiving at that time that Captain Wilson was himself a prince of some country; but being afterwards informed by the Malay, that he served under a far greater power at home, and was no sovereign, but a captain, he seized the distinction instantly, and ever after addressed him by the appellation of captain, and his chief mate by that of *Kickaray* captain, as second in command. The rest of the officers were next introduced, and Mr Sharp, the surgeon, was pointed out as the gentleman of whom he had spoken when in the king's canoe, who cured the diseases which any of his people were afflicted with, at which the king seemed wonderfully surprised, and kept his eyes fixed

† *Kickaray* means *little*.

on him. Lastly, all the private men were introduced in their turns. After presenting the officers &c. the king inquired for the mark of Captain Wilson's rank or dignity as chief, who was at a loss how to answer; but recollecting that a ring was an ornamental mark of distinction, told him so, and Mr Benger, the first mate, having saved his, gave it to Captain Wilson, who put it on. They appeared pleased with the idea, as it was a kind of ornament which had a similarity of meaning to their own.

During the time that this business was transacting, Raa Kook was conversing with the king upon every thing he had seen and observed during his stay with our people; this his countenance and gestures fully demonstrated, and they plainly noticed his description of their fire-arms and exercise, which the king seemed eagerly to attend to, and then expressed a wish to see them himself; which Captain Wilson said should be done immediately.

He ordered every man to be under arms, and drawn up on the beach (the tide then being low) before the king, who was placed with all his retinue just above the flow of the water, and that they should he exercised by the chief mate, that he might not absent himself from the king; they, without loss of time, prepared themselves, marched on the shore in the king's presence, and fired three volleys in different positions. The surprise of the natives, their hooting, hallooing, jumping, and chattering, produced a noise almost equal to the report of the muskets. Though this exhibition was made at some expense of their powder,

yet our people having fortunately saved all they had on board, it was judged prudent on this occasion to let the natives witness some display of the effect of their arms, that they might be impressed at the first sight of them with an enlarged idea of the power and strength of the English; and the more so, as they had perceived, the preceding night, how much higher they had risen in the estimation of the king's brothers, by the mere exhibition of their musketry, and giving an explanation of their use.

After this, one of the fowls that had been saved among the little live stock from the Antelope, was purposely driven across the cove, where Mr Benger was prepared with a fowling-piece, loaded with shot, which he fired at the bird, to let the king see the effect of their muskets; the bird instantly dropped, having its wing and leg broken; some of the natives ran to it, took it up, and carried it to the king, who examined it with great attention, unable to comprehend how it could be wounded, not having seen any thing pass out of the gun. This created a vast murmur and surprise amongst them.

Raa Kook expressed much impatience to show the king whatever had impressed his own mind, and, taking his brother by the hand, led him to a grindstone, which was placed behind one of the tents, and fixed on a block. He put it in motion, which (having been shown the method) he had frequently done before; the king remained fixed in astonishment at the rapidity of its motion, and at the explanation of the general, that it would immediately sharpen and polish iron. Captain Wilson ordered a hatchet to be brought, and ground, that they might more readily perceive its opera-

tion. Raa Kook eagerly laid hold of the handle of the stone, and began turning it, appearing highly delighted himself to let his brother see how well he understood it; he having the preceding day amused himself for some hours with this novelty, and having sharpened several pieces of iron, which he had picked up about the tents. The circumstances which most in this sight bewildered all their ideas were, how the sparks of fire could come, and how a stone, so well wetted, became so soon dry.

As the king was going toward our tents, of which there were three, with a sentry stationed at each, the day being fine, and the sun in full power, he noticed the bright glitter of the bayonet; it of course astonished him, who had never seen any polished body, or the action of light on it. He stepped hastily to the centinel, and wished to feel it, offering to take it out of the man's hand, who thereupon drew back; Captain Wilson then explained to him, that no English sentinel would, or dared suffer any one to touch his arms. Upon this the king seemed satisfied, and went on to view other things in and about the cove. Raa Kook would now show his brother the kitchen, which was in the hollow of a rock, a little above the cove. It was the time when the cook was preparing dinner; the implements which furnished the kitchen were scanty indeed, and could in no other place but this have attracted any one's attention; but here an iron pot, a tea-kettle, a tin saucepan, with a poker, a pair of tongs, and frying-pan, became, from their peculiar situation, of sufficient consequence to excite admiration; nor were the bellows now forgotten by the general, (of which

some mention has before been made), who, taking them up, as he explained their use to the king, seemed ambitious to let his brother see what an adept he was, and began to blow the fire. The bald cook, who was always close shaved, and never wore any thing on his head, and was beside a little meagre fellow, was also pointed out by him for the king's notice; for the general's vein of humour, as well as his wish of information, made him attentive even to the most trivial circumstances.

He was also taken to see the two dogs, which he was struck and delighted with in full as great a degree as his brother Arra Kooker had been before. But these animals, whose novelty equally impressed all the natives, excited them to take so much pleasure in making them bark, that our people were, after some time, compelled to confine them out of sight.

Near to the kitchen was another hollow rock, where were suspended the hams which had been saved from the ship, under which fires had been made, in order to smoke-dry them for future sea-store. Ras Kook was now so familiarized to our people's methods, that he informed the king this was some of their provision. He wished that one of them should be offered his brother, which was immediately presented, and accepted, as was also a live goose; four or five (the remains of the live stock) just at that moment waddling in sight.

The king being now returned to his former seat, informed Captain Wilson that he intended to go and sleep at the back of the island; and presently a loud shriek was given by one of the king's offi-
, who wore a thin narrow bone on his wrist,
ch was afterwards known to be an order much

inferior to what we have spoken of before. This, at the moment it was heard, threw our people into some alarm, but the cause of it was immediately evident, for all the king's attendants, who it was conceived amounted at least to three hundred, though all differently dispersed, and engaged in looking about at every thing that attracted them, as if instantaneously moved by the shriek, might be said to have rather darted than to have run to their canoes. It was a signal obeyed more suddenly than could have been conceived, and no word of command was ever executed with greater promptitude. The king departed, in appearance well pleased with his visit, and satisfied with what he had seen.

The king's son and Raa Kook staid with the English, having five canoes and about twenty people remaining with them. They slept in two tents by themselves, our people lying in the tent where their arms and stores were, two tents having been erected for the accommodation of the king and his retinue. One was prepared for the king before he came, and the other raised close to it for his attendants, after his arrival, when they saw the number of them. In the tent intended for the king, was Raa Kook, the king's son, and several chiefs. Captain Wilson remained with them after the guard was set, and sentinels placed, to show them respect, as well as to testify the confidence he placed in them. Soon after which the following circumstance happened, which occasioned much alarm.

After the guard was set, and the sentinels placed, our people were going to rest, when, on a sudden, the natives began a song, the shrillness and manner of which made them think it was their war

hoop, or the signal for the king and his party from the back of the island to come upon them. The English instantly took to their arms, and Messrs Barker and Sharp ran to the tent where Captain Wilson was, to see if he was safe; judging, that if any harm was intended, the natives would secure him, who was alone with them. Seeing him safe and quiet, they informed him of the apprehensions of our people, who were all under arms. He requested Mr Barker to return immediately to them, and desire them to make no show of being alarmed, but to keep upon their guard until they should find what the meaning of this might be, adding, that he would come to them as soon as he could do it without being noticed. He requested Mr Sharp to sit down by the king's son, and enter into some conversation with him, by signs, whilst he went himself to their tent, where he found the people under arms. After a little deliberation on what this noise might mean, it was thought best to discover no appearance of uneasiness, but to remain quiet in the tent, with arms ready by them, and that he would return to the natives, and wait the event. He was soon relieved from every anxiety, by finding that they were only tuning their voices, in order to begin a song; which, as soon as they had in their manner properly pitched, Raa Kook gave out a line or stave, which was taken up by another rupack, seated at a little distance, who sang a verse, accompanied by the rest of the natives present, except himself and the prince. The last line they sung twice over, which was taken up by the natives in the next tent, in chorus. Raa Kook then gave out another line, which was sung in the same manner; and this continued

for ten or twelve verses. They talked at times between the verses, as if setting some of the singers right who had not been properly in tune. Their song ended, they requested to hear some English songs, which was readily complied with; * and several songs were sung by one of our people, with which they were exceedingly pleased. This put an agreeable end to every apprehension, as the English were now convinced their sole intent was to amuse them. The natives, soon after this, went quietly to sleep, but there were few of the English able to do so; the alarm had awakened too many suspicious ideas, to allow their minds to be speedily composed.

In the afternoon of the following day, the Malay informed Captain Wilson, that the king was come round into the bay, being on his return to Pelew, and if he wanted to take leave of him, he must go off to his canoe. The Captain accordingly went in the jolly-boat, having with him Tom Rose his linguist, and four other men. The meeting was, to his great surprise, very cool on the king's part, of course reserved on his own: far unlike, indeed, that undisguised openness which marked the interview of the preceding day. And I doubt not but by this time the reader will have shared a portion of that concern, for his unfortunate countrymen, which was awakened in their bosoms by this unexpected alteration in the behaviour of the natives. What will he think of the hearts of these

* Our songs were sea-songs, and of battles; and the king was so pleased at the account he afterwards heard of them, that whenever he met the young lad Cobledick, who sang them, he would stop him, and make him sing one or two songs.

yet unknown inhabitants of Pelew? He will have already loaded them with reproach, and judged, too hardly judged, them to be an inconsistent, faithless people, on whom no reliance could be placed, whom no profession could bind. His imagination may have started a multitude of conjectures, yet at last will probably suppose any thing sooner than the real cause which spread this visible dejection over their true character. Never perhaps was exhibited a nobler struggle of native delicacy; their hearts burnt within them to ask a favour, which the generosity of their feelings would not allow them to mention. The English had been and still were in their power; they had sought their protection as unfortunate strangers. The natives had already shown them, and still meant to show them, every mark of hospitality which their naked, unproductive country could afford. They conceived that what they wished to ask, as it might prove a temporary inconvenience, would look ungenerous; and that which most checked their speaking was, that, circumstanced as the English were with respect to them, a request would have the appearance of a command; an idea which shocked their sensibility. The matter they laboured with was, in their opinions, of the highest imaginable consequence to them. The king had probably talked it over with his brothers the preceding day, had deliberated on it in the evening at the back of the island, and came to the cove this day determined to propose it, but when there, wanted resolution to make it known; yet the object being so important, he felt unwilling to leave it in silence, and perhaps conceived that he could better disclose it from his canoe, than when sur-

rounded by so many English. After much apparent struggle in the king's mind, the request with great difficulty was at last made, and proved to be this:—that the king being in a few days going to battle against an island that had done him an injury, he wished Captain Wilson would permit four or five of his men to accompany him to war with their muskets. Captain Wilson instantly replied, that the English were as his own people, and that the enemies of the king were their enemies. The interpreter certainly very well translated this declaration, for in an instant every countenance, which was before overshadowed, became brightened and gay. The king said he should want the men in five days, by which time his own people would be prepared for battle, and that he would take them down to Pelew with him the next day. Thus was harmony restored between our people and the natives; interrupted only for a few hours, from no other cause than that extreme delicacy of sentiment which no one would have expected to have found in regions so disjoined from the rest of the world.

The king came in the forenoon of the following day for the men he had been promised. Captain Wilson, on offering to make one of the number, was prevented by his own people, who declared that he must not expose himself, as all their safeties depended on him. Every one of the English expressed a readiness to go, but the five following being young men, and requesting their comrades with particular earnestness to be the first upon the list, were those who were appointed, viz. Mr Cummin, the third mate, Nicholas Tyacke, James

Bluett, Madan Blanchard, and Thomas Dalton; they also took with them Tom Rose as their interpreter; the king and the chiefs taking each one of them in their canoes, our men being dressed in blue jackets, cocked hats, with light blue cockades, and properly prepared with arms and ammunition. The king made but a short stay; he said he should leave four of his own men with our people, that they were such as might be trusted, that the expedition would be over in four days, and that all imaginable care should be taken of the men who were to attend him. He went away in great friendship, shaking all the English by the hand. Our people accompanied their companions, when they departed, to the water edge, and as they moved from the shore in the cove, gave them three cheers, the first of which was only returned by the English; but the linguist giving Abba Thulle to understand that this acclamation was used by the English as a farewell, and wish of success, the king made all his men stand up in their canoes, and return the second and third.

As soon as the natives were gone, the boats were sent to the wreck, but our people did not think it safe to go on board, as they perceived two canoes there of a larger construction, and several smaller ones in sight, which they supposed to come from the island which was then at war with the king; our boats were therefore obliged, very reluctantly, to return empty. During this day our people felled several trees for a stem, the one they before had proving rotten in the middle; and their present leisure, added to the little prospect of being interrupted by the natives for some days, induced them to embrace this opportunity to form

the plan of their intended vessel. Mr Barker, the second officer, who had, in the earlier part of life, been conversant in the business of a dock-yard, assisted Captain Wilson and the carpenters in designing the vessel, which it was now determined should be a schooner, as easier worked. The plan was shown to every body, and approved by all. The petty officers and common men considering, that to pursue this interesting business, every individual must do his part, and all concur in becoming obedient to the command of *one superior*, who should conduct and regulate the whole operation, the affection each had borne to their captain, and still bore him, though misfortune had severed the tie between them, made them unanimously request Captain Wilson to be that *one superior*, and that he would take the command upon him, faithfully promising that they would, in all things, implicitly obey his orders, equally as when the Antelope was on float; * that, she now being a wreck, they would form themselves as a people of a dock-yard, and would consider Captain Wilson (whose former conduct they said they should ever remember with the warmest affection) as the master or manager of the yard, and submit to such laws and regulations as usually govern places of that kind. Nothing could more affect the sensibility of such a character as Captain Wilson's, than to see all those who had served under him voluntarily again seek him as their commander, to share still far severer toils.

* As every reader may not be acquainted with maritime proceedings, to such it will not be improper to remark, that when a merchant ship is wrecked, all authority immediately ceases, and every individual is at full liberty to shift for himself.

All arrangements being now settled, each went to his new department, and worked till dark, at which time all were summoned to the great tent, where Captain Wilson read prayers; it being the request of every one to join in paying unitedly their thanksgivings to that Supreme Being who had not only so providentially preserved them, but whose goodness now relieved their drooping spirits, by spreading before them a hope of their being once more restored to their country and families. Each bringing with him a mind impressed with these reflections, never were prayers more devoutly or ardently offered up. And after they were over, it was ordered, that public prayers should on no Sunday evening be omitted.

During the following week, our people went almost every day to the wreck, and recovered a variety of provisions and stores. It was judged expedient to form a barricade in front of the tents towards the sea, which was assisted by a double row of strong posts, interlaced with branches of trees, and filled up with logs of wood, stones and sand, on which they mounted a six pounder and two large swivels. Notwithstanding the heat of the weather also, they continued to make progress in building the vessel.

On the 25th August, as the boats were going off to the ship, they saw four canoes, full of men, coming towards the harbour from the southward; and as our people understood those islands were at variance with the king of Pelew, the boats returned, and soon after these canoes came ashore. Those who were in them landed with great marks of timidity and caution. They seemed (as far as we could interpret their signs) to intimate a de-

sire to look round the cove, and were probably induced to take a view of the new-arrived creatures, whom accident and misfortune had thrown upon this island. There was among them a rupack, who was judged, by the kind of bone on his arm, to be of an inferior order; but the linguist being absent, it was impossible to discover who they were. Captain Wilson conducted them round the cove, and showed them the works which were begun. They remained on shore little more than an hour, and appeared greatly satisfied; departing full of acknowledgments for the civilities which had been shown them, neither they or their attendants pilfering, or asking for any thing.

CHAPTER III.

RETURN OF THE PEOPLE—ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION—CAPTAIN WILSON VISITS PELEW—APPLICATION MADE FOR MORE MEN—FRESH VISIT OF THE KING—SECOND EXPEDITION TO ARTINGALL—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF RAA KOOK'S SON.

Our people now opened a communication from one tent to the other, through which they might retreat, or join, in case of an attack: and they also settled the plan of defence within the barricade, and each man had his post assigned him. The reason of making these preparations was, the long stay the people made who were gone with the king to battle; they understood that they would be back in four or five days, and this was the ninth morning they had been absent. In the afternoon four other canoes were perceived making into the harbour: by the boatmen splashing and flourishing their paddles, our people conceived the king was on board one of them, but to their great satisfaction they soon saw they were their countrymen returned. They were welcomed with every testimony of joy; and it was no small pleasure to those left on the island, to see them all come back in health and spirits. They reported they had been

very kindly treated ever since their departure, the natives behaving to them in the most friendly unreserved manner. The king's brother, Raa Kook, came back with them. The canoes brought great quantities of yams and cocoa-nuts, and the king had given to each of the men who went on this expedition a basket of sweetmeats, and also sent some baskets to the captain: this sweetmeat they distributed very liberally amongst their countrymen, but it was not much relished, being found dry and hard, insomuch that the sailors gave it the name of Choak-Dog. But of this I shall have occasion to speak again, when I come to describe the customs and manners of the natives.

The following was the account our people gave of their expedition, which was confirmed by Mr Cummin's journal, who went with them.

Having departed the 17th, they went to one of the king's islands, about six leagues to the eastward of the cove, where they were received with great kindness, and treated with much hospitality; after remaining there all night, they set off the next morning for Pelew, the place of the king's residence, which was in an island about three or four miles distant; here they remained till the 21st, the king not being till then able to get together all his canoes; however, by day-light on the 21st, they mustered before the king's house with their arms, which consisted of bamboo darts from five to eight feet long, pointed with the wood of the beetle-nut tree, and bearded; these they use for close quarters, but they have short ones for distance, which they throw with a short stick of about two feet long, having a notch cut in it to receive the point of the dart, and place their hand at the

other extremity of the dart, which, being made of bamboo, is elastic and compressed into a curve, proportioned to the distance they aim at; and being then suffered to spring, in general it comes down perpendicular on the object to which it is directed.

The English embarked in five different canoes, and went away to the eastward about ten or twelve leagues, calling as they went along at several of the king's villages to refresh and reinforce; at half an hour past two in the afternoon, they got in sight of the enemy. The king had with him now a fleet of one hundred and fifty canoes, on board of which were considerably above one thousand men. Of the enemy's force our people could form no certainty. Before the action, Raa Kook went in his canoe close to the town, and spoke to the enemy for some time, having Thomas Dulton in the boat with him, who had directions not to fire till such time as the signal agreed on should be given him. What the general said being received by the enemy with great indifference, Raa Kook threw a spear at them, which they almost immediately returned: this being the signal for firing, was instantly obeyed; a man was seen to fall directly, and this threw the enemy into great confusion. Such as were on shore ran away, and the greater part of those in the canoes jumped into the water and made for land; a few more muskets were fired, which dispersed the enemy entirely; and our friends seemed perfectly satisfied with their putting them to flight, and resting in this mark of victory, made no other use of it than to land, strip some cocoa-nut trees of their fruit, and carry off some yams and other provision. After this fight, or more pro-

perly this attack, the fleet returned homeward, the king being highly pleased with his triumph. They stopped at several places in their way, where the women brought out sweet liquor for the people to drink; and it being too far to get home that night, the fleet dispersed up several small creeks, about eight o'clock in the evening, where they slept. The next morning feasts were prepared in all the neighbouring houses, and at three in the afternoon the people re-embarked, and set off for Pelew, where they arrived safe about seven the same evening. Here also they found the women ready to receive them, with cocoa-nut shells filled with sweet liquor. On landing, the English fired a volley, and gave three cheers, with which the king appeared greatly pleased. Here our people slept, and were told that they must stay and rest themselves the next day, and set off for their island the day succeeding. There was nothing but rejoicing and festivity in the town the next morning, and the rest of the day was passed with hilarity, and celebrated with songs and dances made on the occasion.

Before our people embarked, the king took them to his house, treated them with some stewed turtle, expressed great satisfaction in their behaviour, and promised to send to their island supplies of yams; asking them if they thought Captain Wilson would again spare him ten men to go against the same people, intimating also a design he had against another island. Mr Cumming declined giving an answer to this question, saying he could undertake nothing without the captain's orders. After breakfast the king went down to the waterside with the English, where he parted with them

in a very kind manner, sending two large canoes laden with yams for the rest of their countrymen. They then passed over to the small island where they had first landed, and walked across it with the general, who accompanied them, and who ordered the canoes to go round to the other side: they were now conducted to their first night's habitation, where their old friends received them (if possible) more hospitably than before; both sexes flocking about them, and making signs to express their knowledge of the defeat of the king's enemies. Here they staid the night, and after a passage this morning of five hours, rejoined their shipmates, to the mutual satisfaction of all.

The arrack having been found during the time our countrymen had been absent, at their return they were served the liquor due to them, in the proportion that it had been used at the tents in their absence, which they invited their comrades to partake of in the evening; and this, with the yams and cocoa-nuts they brought, made a feast. Those who had been absent were exceedingly rejoiced to see the harbour and tents put in a state of defence; but, above all, at the progress in the vessel, wherein all the future hopes of every individual were already in imagination embarked.

At day-break the boatswain, as usual, piped all out to their separate departments; and those who had been at the war, having deposited with the gunner their military weapons, most willingly joined in the convention which had been made in their absence, and entered on their different tasks.

Raa Kook having informed Captain Wilson the preceding night, that his brother, Abba Thulle, had given to him, for the English, the island he was

then on, the name of which he had not heard before, but now learnt it was called Oroolong; after breakfast, Captain Wilson, in testimony of the king's donation, hoisted the British pendant, and fired three volleys of small arms, in token of their taking possession of it for the English. Our people saying, as they returned in the canoes from Pelew, that the natives were constantly pointing to the island, calling it English, and Englishman's land, * the king had sent his brother to make known to Captain Wilson this grant of the island, as also to give the captain an invitation to Pelew: he excused himself for the present, having so much to attend to at Oroolong; but sent Mr Benger, who had been first mate of the Antelope, and his brother, Mr M. Wilson, with the linguist, Tom Rose, and one of the China-men, who were accompanied by the general Raa Kook, to compliment the king upon his victory, and to present the respects of himself and all his countrymen on the occasion. The reason of Captain Wilson's sending one of the China-men was this, that he might notice more particularly the produce of the country, and examine if there might not be vegetables good to eat which the natives overlooked, or did not attend to; he also gave him in charge to be very accurate in observing if they had not plants in Pelew similar to those in his own country. The Chinese are all tolerable botanists, and live principally on vegetables, so that turn a China-man on any spot, he would contrive to pick a meal for himself from it. The truth of this remark Captain Wilson had experienced from repeated voyages he had made to

* This island is still called Englishman's Island by the natives.

China, as well as from the general character of those people.

On Friday, about four p. m., Mr Benger, Mr Wilson, and the China-man, returned in a canoe, and soon after Raa Kook, with the linguist, in another. Mr Benger brought an account, that they were received and treated by the king and his people with the most perfect friendship and hospitality; that they were constantly praising the power and exploits of the English, to whom they ascribed the success of the late battle; repeating the word *Englees* incessantly in their songs, at their dances, and rejoicings, which he said were not then over; and that they were meditating another expedition, more formidable than the last, in which they meant to rely on the assistance of the English. Mr Benger said their houses were tolerably good, with plantations of yams and cocoa-nuts about them; that the soil appeared to be rich and fertile; that they have neither corn, or cattle of any kind, nor did he see much fruit or produce of any great use or value. The China-man also added, *That this here very poor place, and very poor people; no got clothes, no got rice, no got hog, no got nothing, only yam, little fish, and cocoa-nut; no got nothing make trade, very little make eat.* This fellow's description, which I have given in his own words, sufficiently showed that he viewed mankind with the eye of a Dutchman, only calculating what was to be got from them. The mind of a speculative reader is far otherwise engaged. He, in the dispersed families of the world, traces the hand of Providence guiding all things with unerring wisdom. He marks it balancing with equal scale its blessings to the children of men; and con-

siders human nature, however unadorned, when dignified by virtuous simplicity, as one of the noblest objects of contemplation.

In the afternoon of Saturday, Mr Cummin was sent in the jolly-boat, to try for the passage through the reef which was thought to have been discovered the day before from the look-out above the tents. Captain Wilson took up some men, and cleared still more the spot intended for an observatory. The jolly-boat returned, after having been without the reef through a narrow passage, in which they found at low water three feet and a half of water, and, as it rose eight or nine feet upon a spring-tide it was judged there must be at those times twelve feet of water, which would be almost double the draught of the schooner when finished. This was an information which revived every one's hopes, and made all our people look forward with fresh, spirits. Intelligence was also brought, that they had found seven fathom water immediately without the reef, and three fathoms within in the shoalest part, which was a narrow bank of sand that formed a bar. These observations were taken at low-water, or when very little flood was made.

The captain having fixed this day for his going to visit the king at Pelew, as soon as all had breakfasted, he read prayers in the tent; Raa Kook, with such of the natives as were waiting to accompany him, attended divine service, and were most exceedingly attentive, following exactly what they saw our people did, in rising or kneeling, except that instead of kneeling, they would squat down on their hams. After prayers were ended, Captain Wilson took leave of his people, taking with him Mr

Sharp, Mr Devis, and his son Mr Henry Wilson. They went in the jolly-boat, the general accompanying him in his canoe. They left the tents about eight o'clock in the morning. At noon, as they approached the little island which lies about three or four miles off Pelew, they observed Raa Kook's canoe paddling away at a great rate to get ahead of them; he just stept on shore at a little town situated by the water-edge, and soon returned to meet them, directing their course to the leeward of the island, where they were met by another canoe, laden with yams, cocoa-nuts and sweetmeats, to refresh them on their passage. This explained immediately the reason of the general's quitting them so suddenly, which they now perceived was merely to indulge his hospitable disposition, and from his anxiety lest our people should be fatigued for want of refreshment. Every one partook of this entertainment, and then proceeded, and reached the island of Pelew about one o'clock in the afternoon.

As Pelew came in sight, the jolly-boat hoisted English colours, and fired three muskets, which were answered as they approached nearer the shore, by a white flag stuck on a pole; this was conceived to have been suggested by the Malay, and proved to be some of the white cloth that had been given to the king. Raa Kook having quitted his canoe, came into the jolly-boat; and our people, on landing, fired three muskets more, after having hoisted their colours, and fixed them in the ground opposite a house close to the water side, at the end of the causeway where they came on shore; to which house our people were conducted by Raa Kook,

to wait the king's coming, he having despatched a messenger to notify the Captain's arrival.

Before the king appeared, some of the natives were sent down with refreshments. They first brought a large tureen, made of wood, in the shape of a bird, and inlaid with shell. This was full of sweet drink. They also brought a painted stand, about two feet in height, inlaid in the same manner as the tureen, upon which were sweetmeats garnished with Seville oranges. Next came a basket of boiled yams, followed by another of young cocoa-nuts. These were all placed in a kind of order, preparatory to the king's coming. On his arrival, Captain Wilson rose and embraced him, as he had done at their first interview. Abba Thulle sat down by him, and they were then served with the before mentioned provisions, by a man who seemed to act as a butler, and gave to each a portion, by the king's directions. After this entertainment was over, Captain Wilson offered him the presents he had brought, which consisted of some iron hoops, some necklaces made of gold and silver lace, tied with a riband at each end; to which he meant to have added a few files, but one of the natives purloined them from the person who had them in charge.

The king came down without any state, and seemed only attended by those whom curiosity to see the English had brought together. The house, and every part about it, was thronged with the natives, to see our captain, who had dressed himself in the Company's uniform.

After the repast was ended, Mr Devis, who was a draughtsman, being struck with the appearance of a woman who was present, took out a piece

of paper, and was making a sketch of her figure; which, before he had completed, the lady noticing that he had repeatedly looked her earnestly in the face, and marked something down, was distressed at it, and rose up to go away, in appearance very much agitated; nor could she be persuaded to stay, although some of the rupacks present laughed heartily at her alarm, which led our people to conceive that she was the wife of one of them. A rupack looking over Mr Devis's shoulder, seemed pleased at the representation, or likeness, and wished to hand it up to the king, who so readily entered into a true idea of the art, that he immediately sent a messenger to order two of his women to come down to the house where he was. They arrived very soon, and placed themselves at the window fronting where Mr Devis was seated, at which these ladies could stand without being seen lower than the waist. Perceiving, as they looked into the house, a smile on every countenance, they at first appeared pleased themselves, and the king told them the reason why he had sent for them; but soon noticing Mr Devis fixing his eyes earnestly on them, they did not know what to make of the business, and began to look exceedingly grave. The king then seemed to chide them, on which they stood quiet, and rather assumed an easier air. Mr Devis having finished his sketches, presented them to the king; he showed them immediately to his women, who seemed pleased in viewing on paper a fancied likeness of themselves, and appeared as if a little ashamed at having been so foolishly and unnecessarily distressed.

The king then desired Mr Devis to lend him a piece of paper and his pencil, on which he attempt-

ed to delineate three or four figures, very rudely, without the least proportion, their heads, instead of an oval, being in a pointed form, like a sugar-loaf. Nor let any one conclude from this circumstance, that the king was ostentatious to exhibit the little knowledge he possessed of the art. I rather mention it as a proof of his openness of temper, to let Mr Devis see that he was not totally ignorant of what was meant by it; nor was it less a mark of his condescension, in showing he could very imperfectly trace what the artist was able more happily to delineate. He approved in the stranger those talents he would himself have been ambitious to possess, and in his manner of testifying his approbation, exhibited in captivating colours that which no pencil could display—the urbanity of a noble mind.

The king now signified to his guests, that he would conduct them up the town. They expressed their readiness to attend him, and ordered their colours to be raised, and carried before them, wishing to impress on the natives what little idea of ceremony their forlorn situation could admit of. Pelew is hardly more than a quarter of a mile from the shore. They ascended a bank into a wood, led by the king and Raa Kook, and followed by a great concourse of people. Having passed the wood, they found themselves on a fine broad causeway, or pavement, with rows of trees on each side, forming a grove. This causeway was raised about two feet above the level of the ground, and was about ten feet in width, having a broad flat stone running along the middle, for the greater conveniency of walking; it was paved on each side with

stones of a smaller size, and less worked. This causeway led to the town, and then parted to the right and left; the one conducting to where some of their boat-houses were erected, and the other to their bathing-place.

Having now reached Pelew, they came into a large square pavement, round which were several houses; our people were conducted to one that stood in the centre of one of the sides. Out of this house issued a number of women, who were waiting to see these new beings, the English, and whom they soon understood to be the wives of some of the rupacks, or great officers of state These were rather fairer than the rest of the women, had some little ornaments about them, and their faces and breasts were rubbed over with turmerick.

The king, and his brother Raa Kook, led his guests into this house, into which the women returned, and received them with much joy, presenting their company with cocoa-nuts and sweet drink, which all sat down and partook of. The ladies also seated themselves, and taking a parcel of leaves, began making mats, an employment in which they pass a great part of their time. The king informed his guests that this house * was to be their abode as long as they remained at Pelew, and that there they were to sleep. After which he rose up, and withdrew, previously apologizing to Captain Wilson for retiring, saying he was going to bathe. Soon after a message came to Raa Kook from the queen, to request she might see the English at her dwelling. They attended the general thither, through a pathway from the back of

* Called a pye.

the house where they were, which led into a grove of cocoa-nut trees. Having crossed the grove, they came to a small retired habitation, * in the front of which was a square, formed with paved stone, surrounded also with cocoa-nut trees. Immediately before this house was a rail, on which were some tame pigeons, tied by the leg. This is a bird held in such estimation in these islands, that none but the rupacks and their families are allowed to eat of them. As they approached, the queen opened her window, and spoke to Raa Kook, to desire the English would sit down on the pavement before her; which being complied with, a number of attendants brought out yams, cocoa-nuts, and sweet drink; and whilst they were partaking of these, the queen asked Raa Kook many questions about our people, and then sent them one broiled pigeon (which they dress without drawing), that every one might have a bit to taste; giving them to understand, that this was the greatest rarity that the country produced. She took very great notice of the English, and wished some of them would come close to the window, and draw up their coat-sleeves, that she might see the colour of their skin. After she had viewed them attentively, and asked, through the general, as many circumstances respecting them as she thought she could with propriety obtrude, she signified that she would not longer trespass on their time by detaining them; so they rose and took leave of her. †

* This house, which contained Abba Thulle's principal wife, was called T'thith, but now it does not exist.

† This lady seemed to have a greater degree of respect and attention paid her than any other of the king's wives. She never went abroad, and her house was the king's general residence.

The general now told them he wished to conduct them to his own house, which was a little distant from the first square, where the king had allotted their habitation. At the house of this chief they were received quite in a family way, without any form. They were obliged just to taste of what was set before them, though their appetites had been sufficiently taken away by partaking of so many entertainments before. Raa Kook's wife brought them in a broiled pigeon, which they, out of compliment, eat a bit of, for the honour done them. In this domestic scene, Raa Kook appeared in a new and amiable light. It was a situation which placed to their view that benevolent heart of his they had themselves before frequently noticed. Here he was surrounded by several of his children, two of whom were very young, and seemed almost of the same age. They were climbing up his knees and caressing him, whilst he seemed to enjoy great pleasure in rolling and tossing them about, and playing with them, handing them to our people, that they might also notice and play with them.

Whilst the attention of Captain Wilson and his companions had been engaged by this interesting scene, the night had crept fast on them, and it being now quite dark, they requested leave to retire. Raa Kook apologized for not waiting on them home, but ordered one of his own people and the Malay to conduct them back.

Being arrived at their allotted dwelling, they learnt that the king had been there after his bathing; but understanding they were gone abroad with his brother, he had retired to his own house, but had sent them some fish for supper. After

supper, Raa Kook sent mats for them to sleep on, and called himself before he went to rest, to see if they were supplied with every thing they stood in want of, and which it was in his power to offer. Our people reposed on these mats at one end of the house, the king having ordered some of his own men to sleep at the other end, to protect them from any inconveniency which might arise from the curiosity of the natives, as well as to watch the fires made to keep them from the dews and mosquitoes. They all rested very well, in the fullest degree satisfied with the great attention and kindness of their new friends. The night proved both windy and wet, but they found their habitation perfectly dry; their houses being so well thatched, that the weather rarely is able to penetrate them.

Raa Kook called on them very early in the morning. In all his visits he wore on his countenance such a look of good-humour and congratulation as more than told our people he rejoiced to see them. He never seated himself close, but at some small distance from them, which is regarded in these parts as a mark of respect. He told them he was going to bathe, and they went down to the shore to see if their boat and its iron-work was safe. On their return, the Captain and his companions received a message to breakfast with the king. They were conducted to the house where, the preceding evening, they had been to pay their respects to the queen. It consisted of one great room, not boarded on the floor, as is the usual custom there, but covered with bamboos laid and fastened down collaterally, with scarce any space between. At one end of this room was the kitchen,

where the servants were busied in preparing breakfast, but without any partition to separate the kitchen. At the opposite end ran a high rail, with a large mat loosely laid over it. Some attendants who were present, desired our people to seat themselves; which, when they had done, the king pulled down the mat, and discovered himself and the queen seated behind it. As this trifling ceremony had somewhat of an air of state that had never been shown before, nor was on any future occasion exercised, they suspected that this mode of the king's receiving the English was something the Malay had suggested to him, and which the king probably found so clumsy and foolish that he never adopted it again. They had boiled fish and yams placed before them; and during breakfast the king showed Captain Wilson a large piece of chintz, which the Malay had saved when he was wrecked, and had given him. He seemed to admire it much, and when it had been looked at, he folded it up again very nicely in a mat; having only produced it as being to him a great curiosity.

During the time of breakfast, the king talked much with the Malay, who, after it was over, told Mr Sharp that Abba Thulle wished he would go a little way into the country, without declaring for what purpose. Mr Sharp hesitated, till Mr Devis offered to accompany him: the king said a person would presently be there to conduct them, who, when he came, appeared to be one of the rupacks who had been with them at Oroolong at the king's first coming, when they individually fixed their notice on some one of our people; a circumstance which then occasioned some alarm, as has before been mentioned. And this chief proved to be

the person who had particularly noticed Mr Sharp as his friend or *succalic* (a term the natives gave it.)

Mr Sharp and Mr Devis, accompanied by the interpreter, put themselves cheerfully under the guidance of this rupack, whose name was Arra Zook; they had not proceeded far, after getting off the causeway, before they met with Captain Wilson's servant, who was straggling about with his gun to kill some fowl for dinner. The rupack made signs to him to join company, which he did, on being informed by Mr Sharp that he was going where the king had sent him. As they went over the hills, they passed several pleasant villages, and a valley beautifully cultivated with plantations of cocoa-nuts and yams, forming from the summit a most rich and delicious prospect. When they had got nearly three miles from Pelew, the heat was so oppressive, that Mr Sharp and his companions expressed an inclination to return back; but the disappointment which appeared in the countenance of the rupack who had conducted them, made both gentlemen judge it advisable not to cross his wishes. They therefore proceeded about a mile and a half further, when they arrived at a plantation, at the end of which stood his house. He solicited them to enter, when various refreshments were placed before them. He then introduced his wife and his children; and showed Mr Sharp a child that was afflicted with some bad ulcers, from a kind of boils, a disorder which he said was common to the people there; and informed Mr Sharp what applications he had himself used to his child, which were chiefly fomentations, made with certain leaves; and that occasionally, after the inflammatory symptoms were

abated, he had put a little of their chinam into the wound, to eat away the proud flesh. Mr Sharp, who, situated as he was, could not undertake to repeat his attendance, thought it best to advise the rupack to the continuance of the remedy the child had been accustomed to; and now perceiving the reason why this visit was solicited, after remaining there a proper time, he and Mr Devis intimated their wish to return back; but the rupack told them that his people were at work for them, and that they must not depart till the business they were about was done. They now perceived the hospitality of Arra Zook was not confined to the transient entertainment he had already spread before them. His people presently appeared, loaded with yams and cocoa-nuts, packed up in large baskets; and also baskets of sweatmeats, which they had made fresh for them while they had been in his house. The rupack told them that his people should carry all these baskets to the king's town, that they might there be put into a boat to be given to their friends at Oroolong. Charmed with the character of their liberal host, Mr Sharp and his companions took their leave, testifying their thankfulness for the kindness he had shewn them; whilst the good man stood assuring them of the joy they had afforded him and his family in coming to his house, and how truly they had obliged him by looking at his poor sick child. As the rupack accompanied them to the door, opposite to it, on a rail (as before described at the queen's house) was his roost of tame pigeons; not thinking he had sufficiently gratified his liberal spirit, he gave them at parting a look of the warmest benevolence, and

told them, when their ship was built, they should have all his pigeons to carry with them.

These gentlemen returned to Pelew, followed by the servants of Arra Zook with the presents of their master. Captain Wilson had in the mean time paid a visit to Raa Kook, where he was shown three iron travellers, which some of the natives had got from the wreck; the general said the English should have them again, and the captain in return promised to give him a hatchet.

Such are the little pleasurable barters of life, when life is governed by simplicity alone, and the estimation objects are held in, is only proportioned to their real utility.

This day, in the forenoon, a great council was held, in the open air, on the large square pavement near the house allotted to the English. It consisted of a number of rupacks, or chiefs, seated each on a single stone, placed near the outer border of the pavement; that for the king was more elevated than the rest; and close to the side of it was a stone still higher, on which he occasionally rested his arm: when in their places, they are encircled by officers of inferior rank. They debate from side to side, on whatever subject happens to be under discussion, and it was understood that the plurality of opinions determined the matter before them. * In the present case it did not require the knowledge of their language to discover the business they were on, as the house in which the captain and his companions were, looked full on their council; and their gestures, as well as the frequent repetition of

* The king is absolute; he only hears the opinions of his rupacks.

the words *Englees* and Artingall, left our people no room to doubt but that they had been the subject of their deliberation. After the council broke up, the king, attended by the linguist, came to the house where the English were, and requested Captain Wilson would permit ten of his men to go with him to battle, against the same enemy as before. Captain Wilson replied to the king nearly as he had done before, "that the English were his friends, and would regard those who were his enemies, as being enemies of their own." This reply greatly pleased the king. The captain desiring to know the cause of the war, Abba Thulle informed him, through the linguist, that some time back, at a festival at Artingall, one of his brothers, and two of his chiefs, had been killed, and that the two islands had been at war ever since; the people of Artingall, so far from making any satisfaction, had protected the murderers. Captain Wilson entreated that his people might not be detained at Pelew longer than was necessary, as it would greatly retard the building of his vessel. The king answered, "*that he could not in decency send them back the moment he had had their services, but that he would keep them only two or three days, that they might be made gay, and rejoice with his own people, after subduing his enemies.*"

In the afternoon the king took Captain Wilson and his companions to see some canoes that were then building; and showed them also some of their boat-houses, which were well constructed, nicely thatched, and not unlike those that are made in England. From hence they were carried to see some other canoes, which were just come in from an expedition they had been sent on by themselves,

and from which, after four days absence, they had returned victorious, having brought in one canoe of the enemy, though not a single prisoner. The obtaining a canoe, however trifling it may appear to a reader, is equal to the capture of the largest ship of war in Europe; as their battles are generally fought near shore, and, when there is no appearance of success, they get to land and hastily haul up their canoes.

In the evening our people were entertained with a dance of the warriors, who were just then returned, which was performed in the following manner: The dancers have a quantity of plantain leaves brought to them, which they split, and shiver into the form of ribands; these they then twine and fix round their heads, wrists, waists, ancles, and knees; and the leaves being of a yellowish hue, so prepared, have not an inelegant effect when applied to their dark copper skin. They make also bunches or tassels of the same, which they hold in their hands. When drawn out, they form themselves into circles of two or three deep, one within another. In general an elderly man amongst them begins, in a very solemn tone, something like a song, or long sentence, for our countrymen could not discriminate which it was, and when he comes to a pause, or what we should call the end of a stanza, a chorus is struck up, and the dancers all join in concert, still continuing their figure. Their dancing does not so much consist in capering or agility, as in a particular method they have of balancing themselves, and this frequently very low sideways, singing together all the while; during which they will flatten their circles, so as to bring

themselves face to face to each other, lifting up the tassels they hold in their hands, and giving them a clashing or tremulous motion. After this there will be a sudden pause, and an exclamation from every voice *weel!* Then a new sentence or stanza is repeated, and danced to as before, and the same ceremony continued, till every man who is engaged in the dance has in his turn had his repetition and chorus.

During this festivity two large tubs of sweet drink were brought in, which were served out, first to the English and the principal people present, who just tasted it, and then the tubs were carried to the warriors; and when the dance was ended they all sat down upon the square, and the drink was served out to them by four persons who seemed to be people of note, having bones upon their wrists. The warriors then removed to a house, at which a supper was prepared for them, where they continued dancing most part of the night; but when it grew dark the English retired to their own habitation.

In the afternoon of Monday the 8th September, the king paid our people a visit, attended by his two brothers, the chief minister, and several of his other chiefs, and brought them some fine fish, that his canoes had caught in nets which they make very nicely. These fish differed much from any kind our people had hitherto seen. They were rather more than three feet in length, and near a foot across, having a very bony and thick head; the bone was so uncommonly hard, as to strike fire when they split it with an axe, in order to stew it. The meat cut solid and firm, like a large

cod;* and the scales were round, near the size of a Spanish dollar; the natives prize it much, and our people found it, when boiled, very good. They had only caught four, two of which were given to the English, and by the ship's steward, divided into messes. The Chinese dressed their portion differently, making a mixture with rice, and other things, which they call *chow chow*.

The king, who now for the first time had seen the progress made in the new vessel, appeared perfectly amazed at perceiving how much had been done, nor less so at the magnitude of the object. He minutely examined every thing with the most eager attention, and impatiently called for his tackelbys, or artificers, to notice what had so much excited his own astonishment. The tackelbys, seized with a surprise equal to that of their prince, after deliberately poring over its parts, pointed out to him the very singular manner in which every thing was wedged and bolted together. They were quite lost in wonder at the use and power of the iron-work; and the whole together seemed to have engaged their minds as somewhat beyond their comprehension. The king crossed frequently between the ribs of the vessel, and said he was at a loss to conceive how they could ever be made so as to keep out the water, having no idea that they were to be planked.

As most of the frame-work of the vessel on the stocks, had been made out of trees which our people had cut down in the island, the king pointed out to them a species of wood which they had

* This fish is called Mamull by the natives, and highly prized among them.

used in some parts of the vessel, and which he expressed a concern at seeing; saying he deemed it an *unlucky* wood, that it might prove the cause of their meeting with some accident; earnestly pressing them to take it out, and not suffer any of it to remain. They acknowledged his great care and goodness for them; at the same time informing him, they were accustomed to employ different kinds of timber in constructing their ships, and from experience had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended on that score. This caution seemed to arise from some *superstitious* idea which the natives entertained of this tree, of which there were several growing on the island of Oroolong.

The king this day, as well as the general, much noticed the barricade, as also the six-pounder; and after he had talked some time with the Malay, he inquired the use of the great gun. The captain showed him the balls, and grape-shot, and also explained to him their force and efficacy; informing him, that if a number of canoes from Artingall, or any other island of his enemies, should approach the cove, this machine would blow them out of the water, and shiver them to atoms. The king was also shown the swivel guns, which were mounted on trees sawn down, as before mentioned; and it was explained to him, that they could be pointed in any direction which should be most desirable or convenient, so that should any of his enemies come by surprise over land, these moveable guns would give our people as great an advantage and power over them by land, as the six-pounder would by sea.

The king, his brothers, and the chiefs who were

with him, on receiving this intelligence, seemed to look at our countrymen with fresh astonishment; they conversed much with one another, testifying by their actions, every indication of surprise. They walked round the barricade and examined it with much attention, noticing how strongly and closely every part was entrenched and fortified.

This little island of Oroolong having been rendered far more commodious to the English by the many necessary establishments they had made since the king had paid them his former visit, there was, of course, a good deal of additional novelty for him to attend to. After he had pointed out to his tacklebys to notice with particular attention every thing about the barricade, he strolled inquisitively round the cove with his company. The noise of the forge which our people had set up, and which was then at work, soon drew his attention that way. It happened that the boatswain was at that instant beating out a piece of hot iron upon a pig of the same metal, which he had made his anvil. This was a circumstance so entirely new, and a discovery so interesting to them, that they all stood absorbed in admiration. They could not be persuaded to keep at a distance, but would get so close to the anvil, as to receive occasionally a hot spark on their naked bodies; nor did this deter them from catching with their hands the luminous particles that flew from under the stroke of the hammer. Every thing under such circumstances as the present, naturally excited wonder. When the iron was beaten on the anvil till the redness was gone off, and it was become too cold to be malleable, they could not comprehend why it was again put into the forge. The throwing

water on the fire to make it burn brisker, was also a new source of surprise: and it was with much difficulty they could be drawn away from a scene so new and interesting to them. However, the noise of the neighbouring cooper, who was repairing the water-casks for sea-store, was attracting enough to allure them to his hut. The agility with which they saw this man work, the whirling of the casks, the knocking down of the hoops, the sound from within, and the quickness with which they perceived a defective cask was brought round and perfect, seemed altogether to impose on their minds a kind of magic influence. They stood and stared at one another, with looks equally expressive of astonishment and pleasure. Captain Wilson perceiving that his visitors were rivetted to whatever they saw, and that the workmen were very much impeded by their questions, as well as by their desire of handling every thing, now ordered a large canvass to be spread on one side of the cove, where the king and his chiefs might repose and refresh themselves, and still have a view of our artificers at a distance. He was conducting them to this place, across the cove, when their eyes caught the carpenters, who were busied, some in sawing, others in dubbing, &c. This was again fresh matter to detain them; the saw and its operations were marvellous; and it was not without great difficulty that they were at last seduced to the canvass, where sherbet was prepared for them. Captain Wilson made the king a present of a China mat, which he appeared to admire, being different from any they made at Pelew, and which he wished as a pattern for his people to endeavour to imitate.

When redemption is the object, minutes appear as hours, and our men, with such a point in view, could ill afford the loss of half a day. They were extremely uneasy then to find, that no sooner were their guests retired, but all their common attendants swarmed in every part, so that it was impossible to continue work. Raa Kook was therefore petitioned to disperse them, who, by ordering them down to the beach, gave the different artificers elbow-room to proceed in their business. The king, after this, took his leave with much good humour, and, accompanied by all his retinue, went to sleep at the back of the island.

In consequence of what had the preceding day been explained, relative to the swivel-guns, the king's imagination had amply worked on the subject. He came over land with his train, and expressed a wish to have one of them to take with him on the next expedition. This the captain endeavoured to convince him would be impossible, as they had no boats constructed in a manner proper to receive it. The king then requested to have the six-pounder fired. If they were surprised (as we have already noticed) at the discharge of a musket, it may easily be imagined in how great a proportion the report of this piece must have affected them. During the time the gunner was loading it, not a circumstance of the whole process escaped their notice, and when the lighted match was brought and put to the train, they perceived an instantaneous blaze, which was succeeded by a most violent noise. This they were puzzled in the extreme to comprehend, and the more so, as in the discharge of a musket they had seen no appearance of fire applied. The report of the six-

pounder seemed to stun them all, as every one of the natives, for more than a quarter of an hour, kept his fingers in his ears, calling out *magull! magull!* that is to say, very bad. Pleased and surprised as they were at the noise, it was evidently too violent for their organs. The hooting and shouting of the natives, on hearing the explosion, was hardly to be described, and this was increased by the accident of some of the wad setting fire to the dry leaves of a tree which projected across the cove. Having observed the ball fall in the water at a great distance, they were unable to conceive how this effect could be produced. What they had seen, stimulated still more their wish of having one of the swivels on their expedition, as it would prove not only destructive to the persons, but to the property of their enemies.

Abba Thulle, in the afternoon, both by his minister and himself, urgently repeated his request for the swivel, which Captain Wilson found great difficulty in declining; indeed he rather suspected the king and his ministers did not depart altogether well pleased with the refusal. Mr Benger, therefore, who had the command of the party, and had all his men ready drawn up with their arms, ordered them immediately into the canoes, and they set sail.

On Monday the 15th, the party returned from the engagement at Artingall, all well, though some of them had made a very narrow escape. The canoe in which Mr Matthias Wilson and James Duncan were, had been overset by a sudden squall of wind, whereby both they and four natives along with them, had nearly gone to the bottom. Unluckily neither Wilson nor Duncan could

swim, but by the vigilance and attention of some of the natives, they were got up into a canoe, having kept fast hold of a piece of raft nearly two hours. They brought the agreeable news of having effected another complete victory at Artingall, which Mr Matthias Wilson related in nearly the following manner.

" They reached Pelew on the same night they left Oroolong, and Abba Thulle wished they should have immediately proceeded to Artingall. This, however, they assured him was impracticable, as it rained hard, which would certainly damage the arms. They were all well lodged and entertained. On the following evening they went on board the canoes appointed for them, along with the king, Arra Kooker, Raa Kook and the other rupacks, and a great number of the natives. The old men, women and children, followed them to the water side, when they sounded conch shells, to notify their departure to the canoes that were yet in their creeks. These soon assembled to the amount of more than two hundred. They proceeded slowly the greater part of the night, but stopped at an island on the way and slept on the ground for three hours before daybreak. They soon reached Artingall, and halted till the sun was fairly risen, and the enemy had notice of their approach; for, let it not pass unnoticed, it is an established rule in these islands, never to attack an enemy under night, or unprepared.

As the king had, some days before, sent information to Artingall of his proposed attack, and at the same time offered terms of peace, he now ordered a canoe with four men to proceed to the

island, and inquire whether they intended to submit or to fight. Each of the heralds had one of the long tail-feathers of the tropic bird stuck upright in their hair, as a symbol of peace. The messengers soon returned with information that the enemy had refused the terms offered. Immediately Abba Thulle ordered the conch to be sounded, and waved his chinam stick in the air, the signal for forming the line of battle. Meantime the enemy collected their canoes, but kept close by the shore, showing an evident disinclination to come to action. Abbe Thulle had dressed himself in the scarlet coat which Captain Wilson had given him, and kept one of the Englishmen in his canoe, while the other nine were dispersed through the fleet in different canoes, armed with muskets, cutlasses, bayonets, and pistols.

Finding the enemy would not advance, and their present situation being very unfavourable for attack, the king ordered a party of canoes to go round a neck of high land, and lie there concealed. He then ordered the remainder to exchange a few darts in their present position, and retreat with apparent precipitancy. By these means he expected to draw the enemy from their station under the shore, and the concealed squadron could then get betwixt them and the land, and thus hem them in on all hands. He despatched his orders with great readiness, by means of some very swift sailing canoes, which cut the water with astonishing velocity. His scheme succeeded according to his wish. The enemy rushed out to pursue the apparent fugitives, and the canoes coming round the high land, surrounded them on all sides. Those who fled now turned about, and

by means of the continual discharge of the fire-arms, threw the enemy into terror and confusion. The noise of the muskets, their friends dropping they knew not how, and the triumphant halloo which the natives of Pelew set up, totally discomfited them; they retreated with precipitation, rushed through the canoes in their rear, who being few, could not much impede their retreat. By that means all escaped but six canoes and nine natives, who were captured. The victory was however considered as very complete. It is very seldom that any canoes are taken, or more than two or three prisoners. The very dead bodies are carefully carried off the field of battle, lest they should fall into the hands of the conquerors, who would expose them in triumph.

The conflict, from first to last, did not continue three hours; therefore, having paraded round the enemy's shores, sounding the conch shell in signal of defiance, and firing when any of them appeared within musket-shot, the king ordered the canoes to be collected, and to return to Pelew.

It now becomes necessary to mention a practice totally inconsistent with that humanity, which has uniformly been pointed out as a most remarkable feature in the character of the natives of Pelew. Notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of the English, nothing could prevent them from putting the prisoners to death. The reason assigned for this barbarous practice was, that they had formerly retained them as slaves, in which capacity they soon got acquainted with their various stores, the creeks and channels of the island, and somehow or other afterwards escaping,

made use of the knowledge of the country they had acquired, in assisting the enemy in their depredations; they had therefore found it necessary to kill every person whom the chance of war brought within their power.

All the prisoners had been wounded in the engagement, and seemed to wait their expected fate with great courage. The principal was a Rupack, known by the bone about his wrist. This they endeavoured to wrench from him, but without effect; he struggled to retain it with singular magnanimity; nor did he quit it, but died in the contest. His head was stuck on a bamboo, and fixed before the king's house at Pelew.

Mr Benger took great pains to preserve the life of a poor fellow in the canoe where he was, and kept him safe for two hours, when one of the king's people, who had been wounded, snatched the Malay's dagger from him, and stabbed him, before he could be prevented. Mr Benger observed that the man died very undauntedly, and seemed, even in the agonies of death, more impressed with the appearance and colour of his new enemy, than with what he was suffering. In the boat where Mr Wilson was, there were two prisoners, one of whom was wounded by a spear in several parts of his body, and the other had his thigh-bone broke. When they go to war they knit their hair in a bunch at the crown of the head, and immediately on being captured, they throw it loose over their faces, waiting the fatal stroke. No sooner did these two victims signify that they were ready, than they were ordered to sit down in the bottom of the canoe, which the lame man readily did, and was immediately killed; the other

resisted for some time, when one of the natives, snatching Mr Wilson's bayonet, plunged it into his body. He lay for some time weltering in his blood, but never uttered a single groan.

They touched at several islands on their way home, where the bodies were exposed in triumph; and the inhabitants, who were either subjects or allies, rejoiced with them on the occasion. They brought out sweet drink, and other refreshments, and seemed to participate in the general triumph. A vast multitude waited at the landing place of Pelew, ready to receive them, loaded with fruit, &c. Great festivity and rejoicings took place immediately, and the praises of the Englees resounded in their songs as formerly."

After the return of the party, all hands were kept busily employed at the schooner, which was now rapidly advancing. The seamen also continued to send frequently to the wreck, from whence they brought a variety of articles very useful to them. That hunger is an excellent sauce, has been often experienced, but never more fully than at present; they discovered about twenty bags of rice in the wreck, which, having been so long under water, would not now boil to a grain, but a jelly; yet they considered it as very savoury food.

The men who returned from the last expedition, brought a message from the king, informing Captain Wilson that he would pay him a visit in a few days, to make his acknowledgments for the assistance he had given them; he at the same time retained Tom Rose, to give him information as to several particulars concerning the English, with which he wished to be acquainted.

Nothing new occurred for several days; the

weather was exceedingly rainy and stormy, accompanied with frequent and loud thunder. The English made several attempts to recruit their stock of provisions by fishing, but always in vain. Whether it was owing to their ignorance of the proper places, or to the not using proper bait, Captain Wilson never could determine.

On the 22d of September, Tom Rose returned from Pelew, bringing with him a quantity of yams, a jar of molasses, and a particular apology from Abba Thulle, for having so long delayed his intended visit; but many of the neighbouring rupacks having come to Pelew, to congratulate him on his late victories, he could not leave them without giving offence; and he could not bring them with him, lest it should be inconvenient to the English. There was something peculiarly delicate in all Abba Thulle's behaviour. No education or refinement could have suggested more real politeness than this message conveyed; anxious, on the one hand, to avoid any appearance of ingratitude; and, on the other, fearful lest his visit should prove prejudicial to those who had served him.

On the evening of the 28th, Raa Kook arrived at Oroolong, accompanied by two chiefs from some neighbouring islands; they brought a present of cocoa-nuts, yams and molasses. Soon after their arrival, Captain Wilson read prayers, as was usual, every Sunday evening, at which Raa Kook and several of the natives attended. Some of them began to talk aloud, and were immediately checked by Raa Kook, who behaved with great decency. While thus employed, the Malay arrived from Pelew with a message to the Captain, which however Raa Kook would not suffer him to deliver, till

prayers were ended. Abba Thulle, delighted with the success he had already obtained by means of the English, was eager to take advantage of them, while in his territories, to assist him in subduing his enemies; he therefore desired Raa Kook to request fifteen men, with one of the swivel guns, to go with them in a third grand expedition. Captain Wilson having several things in his mind which had of late given him some uneasiness as to the behaviour of some of the natives, determined to take this opportunity of stating his grievances to Raa Kook, which he accordingly did. He complained of several thefts which the natives had committed from the wreck, particularly paper, copper, and a six-pounder. He mentioned the inhuman practice of killing all the prisoners, which made the English regret that they should have any concern in their wars; and, lastly, he told him that he was informed Abba Thulle expected the same homage from him and his countrymen which was paid to him by his own people. This circumstance had been privately suggested to the English, for no other reason, as it afterwards appeared, than to occasion a difference, if possible, between the English and the natives of Pelew. Captain Wilson likewise hinted, that he considered it a piece of disrespect to send home his men without a rupack, or some person of consequence to attend them. It is not easy to describe the appearance which Raa Kook's countenance assumed on this information. Shame, vexation and disappointment, were each in their turns depicted on it, in a manner much more expressive than any language he could have used. At length, after some

considerable pause, he assured the captain that he would entirely remove any grounds of distrust betwixt them; that as to the articles taken from the ship, they would all be returned, except the paper, which had been rendered useless by the rain; the six-pounder had never been taken with an intention to be kept, but Abba Thulle had sent for it to be shown to some of his visitors as a curiosity, and meant certainly to return it. The return of the English without a rupack had been entirely owing to Mr Benger's hurry, who would not delay his departure a little till things were prepared. He repeated, what has been formerly mentioned, as their reason for putting the prisoners to death, that it was a matter not of choice, but necessity; at the same time, he agreed to put the prisoners into Captain Wilson's hand, to be treated as he should think fit. But what principally distressed him, was the idea that his brother should have been represented as expecting homage from the English. This he reprobated as an infamous falsehood. It afterwards appeared that the Malay had been confined some time for having told this lie. This good man's reasoning had a very satisfactory effect; and Captain Wilson having first consulted with his officers, agreed to grant their request, only reducing the number of men from fifteen to ten, as more could not be spared from the work.

Matters being thus agreeably concluded, they sat down to supper with great pleasure; after which Raa Kook told Mr Sharp he had now a request to make to him, which he hoped he would grant him; and that was, to go along with him to Pelew, to inspect his son's foot, which was very dangerously

hurt by a spear, which, having sunk deep into the foot, was broke off in attempting to pull it out; and the barb of the spear having got in among the small bones, they could not extract it, and the foot had swelled amazingly. One of the natives, reputed a man of skill, began to cut away the flesh; but, after mangling the foot in a terrible manner, he was obliged to desist, as the effusion of blood became so great that he could not continue the operation. They, therefore, had recourse to their mode of fomentation, of which Mr Sharp much approved, and desired it to be continued till he saw him, which he could not propose at this time, three of the ablest men being sick.

Next day about noon, Raa Kook set sail with ten men under the command of Mr Cummin; and in their absence, the remainder continued their labours at Oroolong with unremitting assiduity.

Although not directly in the course of the narrative, as the reader's curiosity will, no doubt, be somewhat raised to learn the sequel of the young man's history just mentioned, we shall next introduce Mr Sharp's account of his excursion to see him.

Immediately on his landing, he went directly to the house of the general, his father, who met him with visible distress in his countenance.

Mr Sharp acquainted him, that he was come to see his son, and had brought such instruments with him as would enable him, he hoped, to administer relief. Raa Kook smiled approbation, and conducted him to his house, where Abba Thulle and several of the principal people were assembled. After paying his respects to them, Mr Sharp was informed that, during Raa Kook's stay at Oroo-

long, the swelling had subsided by means of the fomentation, and they had forced the spear through his foot, as the only method of extracting it. At this time the whole army was setting out on the grand expedition, which the young man hearing, could not bear the thoughts of being absent. He therefore insisted upon being carried to his canoe, where, though he could not stand on his feet, he could raise himself so far as to throw a spear. He therefore went; and, very early in the engagement, fell a sacrifice to his magnanimity, a spear entering through his throat, and occasioning his immediate death. It is impossible to pass over in silence the unhappy fate of this gallant youth. A spirit more truly heroic, history has not left on record; nor need we hesitate to say, that there was more real valour displayed in this action, which accident only has brought on record, than in many feats which have attracted the admiration of many generations.

This also gives us an opportunity of mentioning their mode of burial, to which Mr Sharp was witness on this occasion. Raa Kook desired Mr Sharp and the boatswain to accompany him to the water side, where two canoes were waiting, into which they went, accompanied by about twenty rupacks, whom they had not formerly seen, as they belonged to another island, though friendly to Abba Thulle. Mr Sharp knew not whether they were going, but suffered himself to be conducted by his friend. They landed upon an island about four miles distant from Pelew. They went a little way up into the island, to a small uninhabited village, where there were four or five houses, surrounded by a neat pavement. After resting about an hour here, they set forward to a town about half a mile

distant, where a great many people of both sexes were assembled, and an entertainment prepared. Immediately after, the women retired; and in a little their attention was drawn to the sound of distress and weeping at a little distance; the voices appeared to be principally those of women. Raa Kook immediately led Mr Sharp from the company to the place whence the noise proceeded. They found a great multitude of women attending a dead corpse, which was neatly wrapped in a mat, and supported by four men; they kept up a constant lamentation, and were just about to lay it down when the strangers joined them. The body was immediately deposited in the grave without any ceremony, while the men who had borne it on their shoulders, proceeded to cover it quickly with the dust. The women then kneeled down, and their cries increased so much, that they appeared as if they were anxious to tear the very body up again. A heavy shower of rain obliged Mr Sharp to leave this interesting scene; but he never could learn the cause of Raa Kook's behaviour on this occasion; as, notwithstanding the uncommon regard he had for his late son, whose body they were convinced it was, he preserved the most profound silence on the subject; nor did he appear particularly interested. The most probable conjecture appeared to be, that he considered it to be below that dignity of deportment which he on all occasions wished to support, to betray, even on this occasion, those natural feelings which are considered here as marks of weakness.

The night proved very stormy, so they could not return to Pelew, but spent the evening with Raa Kook. In the morning Raa Kook carried Mr

Sharp and the boatswain to a little hut contiguous to the place where his son had been buried. Here they found only an old woman, to whom the General spoke for some time. She then went out; but soon returned, bringing two old cocoa-nuts, some red ochre, and a bundle of beetle-nut with the leaves. He took the cocoa-nuts and crossed them with the ochre, placing them one on each side by him; after which he repeated something to himself, which they supposed to be a prayer. He then crossed the beetle-nut in the same manner, and sat musing over it a little, when he gave them to the woman, who carried them out, as Mr Sharp supposed, to the grave. He wished to follow her, but as Raa Kook appeared under great agitation, and not inclined to rise, he did not leave him, nor inquire further.

Mr Sharp entertained his friends with the inspection of his watch and surgical instruments, with which they were greatly pleased, as well as with the description he gave them of the mode of amputation, &c.

Their countrymen at Pelew were, meantime, in great distress about their absence; they had been witnesses to the funeral of another young man who had been slain in the same battle. As they were accidentally straggling through the fields about two miles from Pelew, they observed a great number of the natives going towards a village, with Abba Thulle at their head. They came to a large pavement, where the king was seated, and a great crowd surrounded him. Those who bore the corpse moved slowly on before the king, who addressed them in a speech, probably recapitulating the qualifications of the deceased. This eulogium he de-

livered with great solemnity; and the respectful silence of all around him added a degree of affecting grandeur to the scene. The body was then carried to the grave, attended by women only, and thither Mr Matthias Wilson followed. He observed an aged woman getting out of the new made grave, whom he supposed to be the mother or some near relation of the deceased, who had been examining if every thing was properly prepared. The last offices are always committed to the women, as the men who are relations, or nearly interested, might be led to betray some exterior marks of grief, which they consider as derogatory to the dignity of manhood. Immediately on the body being laid in the grave, the women set up loud lamentations, as in the case of Raa Kook's son; and Mr Wilson left them.

Their graves are made in the same manner as in this country; some have a flat stone laid horizontally on the grave, to prevent any person from trampling upon it. They have also particular spots of ground set apart for the purpose of burying their dead.

CHAPTER IV.

DISASTER OF THE VESSEL—ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD ENGAGEMENT—CAPTAIN WILSON'S VISIT TO RUPACKS—ABBA THULLE VISITS THE ENGLISH WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER, &c.

THE vessel was now considerably advanced, when an unlucky accident had nearly baulked their high raised expectations. One night the tide rose to a very uncommon height, and had nearly washed away the blocks from under her. At this time they were very short of hands. Besides those at Pelew, three were very sick, so that the repairing the accident, and raising a strong bank to defend from any similar tide, took up several days. The weather was at this time so stormy and disagreeable, that on some of the days they could not leave the tents to work. The jolly boat was despatched to Pelew for provisions, and in three days returned with the agreeable news that the English were safely returned to Pelew from the expedition to Artingall, which had been very successful; but Abba Thulle would not yet part with them, as he was anxious to show them his gratitude, by entertaining them in the best manner he could. They now also brought with them the ship's coppers, which some of the natives had carried off on their

first visit to the wreck; and which, coming to Raa Kook's knowledge, he had ordered them to be returned, as he would by no means suffer any thing to be kept that belonged to the English.

On Tuesday, the 7th of October, all the warriors returned in high spirits with the entertainment they had met with at Pelew. They were attended by Raa Kook, who brought with him two jars of molasses and some excellent yams. They gave the following account of the third engagement.

"The canoes were assembled, and proceeded on the expedition, in the same manner as formerly, but were much more numerous. On their arrival at Artingall, the same notice of the attack was sent, but no canoes were to be seen, nor any appearance of opposition. Raa Kook, therefore, took the command, and having landed the troops, led them up into the country; while Abba Thulle continued in his canoe, and despatched his orders to the two commanders, Raa Kook and Arra Kooker. They soon met the inhabitants, who defended themselves with the greatest resolution and bravery. The king entreated the English not to land, lest any of them should meet with harm; but they observing their friends rather hotly received, jumped ashore, attacked the enemy, and surrounded a house to which several of them had retreated. The muskets soon put them to flight, and set the house in flames. Upon this one of the Pelew people, regardless of the danger, ran in among the flames, and, snatching a burning faggot, carried it to another house, where many of the enemy had taken shelter, set it on fire, and returned safe

to his companions. Abba Thulle publicly acknowledged his valour, by putting a string of beads in his ear, and afterwards creating him an inferior rupack. The English were frequently in considerable danger from the spears of the enemy, which were showered upon them in great numbers; but they were soon dispersed by a round of musketry, by which many of them lost their lives. Arra Kooker and Thomas Wilson made a very narrow escape. Arra had ascended the hill in pursuit of the enemy by much too far, when noticing one of the Artingall people coming down, he skulked among some bushes till he was past; then running after him, fetched him such a blow with a wooden sword as immediately stunned him; but as he was dragging his prisoner to a canoe, Wilson luckily observed three or four of the enemy in pursuit, who would in all probability have killed him in a few minutes. He therefore immediately levelled his musket at them, which they perceiving, instantly turned about and fled. This was a very fortunate circumstance, as, although Wilson had presented his musket, he could do no execution with it, his ammunition having been previously expended.

"Five canoes were burnt in this engagement, and the causeway or landing-place demolished. The only trophy of victory which the conquerors carried with them, was the large stone on which the king sat in council; a circumstance which naturally reminds a Briton, of the coronation-stone which Edward I. carried to London from Scone. Great rejoicings took place on their return to Pelew: though the untimely end of Raa Kook's son, with another blooming youth, who lost his

life in the engagement, served to throw a damp on many of their spirits."

About this time Mr Barker had a very severe fall, which confined him some days. But notwithstanding the delays occasioned by sickness and accidents, the schooner advanced pretty quickly, so that by the middle of October her beams were all laid, and many of them secured.

Matters being in an agreeable train at Oroolong, Captain Wilson now resolved to pay a visit, with Abba Thule, to some of the neighbouring islands, his allies. He was attended by his son Henry Wilson, Tom Rose, and Thomas Dutton. They left Oroolong in the morning of the 8th of October, along with their good friend Raa Kook. They reached Pelew by ten at night, where they were kindly received by Abba Thulle's eldest son, QUI BILL; the king having set off only a little before for an island called Emungs. Raa Kook proposed to Captain Wilson to follow him immediately; but as he found himself a good deal indisposed, he rather wished to spend the night at Pelew. They embarked next morning, having in their party two wives of Raa Kook's and Qui Bill. They steered about twelve leagues to the northward, and about noon were off the mouth of a rivulet which runs up into the island of Emungs. Raa Kook then sounded conch shells to notify their arrival. This rivulet they found very difficult to navigate, being both shallow and narrow, besides a number of sharp coral stones on the sides, so that the boatmen had frequently to get out and haul them up. They advanced upwards of a mile before they saw any houses or inhabitants, when, upon the conch-shell being again sounded, four young men ap-

peared, who soon retired precipitately as if terrified. In a little time, however, a great number of the natives came to the water side, when Captain Wilson and Raa Kook landed, and were conducted to a large house, where great multitudes surrounded them, gazing with much astonishment on the strangers, whose colour and dress were so new to them; besides, their curiosity had been raised by accounts of their valiant deeds in battle. They remained here about half an hour, and then proceeded to a large house or public building, about a quarter of a mile distant, where Abba Thulle and a number of rupacks were waiting their arrival. After spending about two hours there, they went to visit the rupack of the town, an infirm old man. Here they remained about half an hour, and were treated with some boiled yams, fish, and sweet drink: they tasted them, and then returned to the great house, where a great entertainment was waiting them. The company were divided into two parties: in the one were Abba Thulle, Captain Wilson and his attendants, and in the other Raa Kook, Qui Bill, and another large company. Captain Wilson here remarked, that nobody ventured to taste the meat till the king had given the word, and in like manner none ventured to lie down for sleep, till he was covered with his mat.

After eating, the natives began a dance in their usual manner, which continued the whole night: they sung also a good deal; and as both men and women joined, they produced together a terrible noise. The English spent but a very uncomfortable night here: they had only rough uneven boards to lie on; and had they been more agree-

ably laid, the noise of the singing made it impossible to get any rest. These amusements continued part of next day; and in the afternoon, they were entertained with a mock fight betwixt two of the natives, and who afterwards joined in a kind of dance with spears in their hands, which continued about an hour. During this dance, the chief presented Captain Wilson with four different spears, and a curious wooden sword, inlaid with shell. Next day they had new dances, which however were soon stopped by a terrible storm of thunder and lightning. The weather clearing up in the afternoon, the old rupack was brought out to the large pavement, carried on a board slung with ropes on two poles, which were supported by four men. A piece of etiquette now took place, which the English did not understand. All the rupacks seated themselves with much respect on the pavement, where the old rupack sat; but Abba Thulle went to a little distance, and sat at the foot of a tree making the handle of a hatchet. His place was supplied among the rupacks by Raa Kook, who personated and spoke for him. Having conversed together for some time, the old rupack distributed presents of beads among the rest. These beads are in general a kind of coloured earth, which they bake by a particular process which the English could not find an opportunity of seeing. Some of the Pelew people, however, had made a parcel out of some bottles they had got from the Antelope, having turned them very neatly. The method of distributing these beads was as follows: The old rupack gave some of them to one of his attendants, who went into the middle of the square,

then mentioned the person for whom they were designed, pronounced an eulogium upon him, and running up to him, delivered them to him. After the rupacks had got their share, Tom Rose was sent for Captain Wilson, who was in the house observing the ceremony from a window. To him the old rupack gave a string of red beads, and two tortoise-shell spoons. After this ceremony, they spent another hour in conversation together, when the old rupack was carried back again on his board, and refreshments set before the rupacks.

Captain Wilson took an opportunity of inquiring the reason of a number of human skulls being placed upon the outside of the doors, windows, and ends of the great house; and was informed, that not many months before, while the principal people of Emungs were absent on a visit to a neighbouring island, the inhabitants of Artingall landed and attacked the town, putting to death such as could not make their escape, setting the houses on fire, and destroying the country wherever they came. Notice of this having reached Pelew, Abba Thulle quickly assembled his canoes, and beset them unexpectedly. At the same time, the people of Emungs returning from their visit, they so completely surrounded the Artingall people, that very few of them escaped; and those were the heads of some of the chiefs.

Captain Wilson having signified a wish to depart, next morning the conch-shell was sounded, and the canoes assembled by day-break. About eight o'clock they embarked in company with one *Maath*, a rupack of consequence in a northern island, who had eight or nine canoes in his reti-

nue. They parted with him at the mouth of the rivulet. He carried with him the scarlet coat and spaniel dog which Captain Wilson had given Abba Thulle, in order to show them to his countrymen, but they were afterwards returned to Pelew. Before his departure, he anxiously entreated Captain Wilson and his company to go with him, which they declined, as it would have detained them too long from Oroolong. They continued their route homewards very agreeably, till about ten o'clock, when a very violent storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with a deluge of rain, overtook them. The high wind soon dispersed the canoes; and the boatmen of that in which Captain Wilson was, having in vain endeavoured to steer on their way, agreed to make for the shore, which was done. They then kindled a fire, by rubbing two sticks together. Raa Kook covered himself with his mat, and his two wives sheltered themselves under his boat-cloak, while at every flash of lightning they ejaculated what the English supposed to be a prayer. Captain Wilson observed on this and other occasions, that the natives of these islands had a peculiar dislike to their skins being wetted by rain, finding probably the pattering of a shower disagreeable, for it could not proceed from any aversion to water, as they bathed every day. The weather cleared up about noon, when the companies of the different canoes met together and dined. They then walked up the country, to a town named Aramalorgoo, where they were kindly entertained. Before they embarked, Raa Kook expressed a desire to fire a musket, which he had never done, and Captain Wilson humoured him; but holding it loosely, it struck his shoulder

so forcibly, that it fell from his hands and he tumbled backwards. It astonished him to see the English fire it so easily, while he could neither hold it nor stand when firing it.

They touched at a place called Emelligree, which appeared to be a distinct government. The rupack, a lusty, good-looking old man, sent them a formal invitation to visit him, which they accepted. Abba Thulle desired that all his company should attend this rupack, but he himself remained in his canoe, probably from the same etiquette which regulated his conduct at Emungs. At this place they were treated with all possible hospitality, not only in public, but at several private houses; and were detained so late, that the inhabitants were obliged to conduct them to their canoes with torches.

It was ten o'clock before the canoe in which Captain Wilson and his party were, arrived at Pelew; and as the king was not yet come, none of the natives would land. The English, though under no restraint, chose to show their politeness on this occasion, by waiting for him also. He soon arrived, and spent this night with the English in the house by the water side. Next morning at breakfast, Abba Thulle informed Captain Wilson that he was directed by a council, to request yet once again the assistance of his men in battle. The captain replied, that nothing could give him greater satisfaction than to be of any service to the Pelew people that lay in his power, but when he left Oroolong, so many of the men lay sick, that till he saw how they were, and conversed with his officers, he could not give a positive answer. With this they appeared very well satisfied; and

about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Captain Wilson and his party, with Raa Kook, set sail for Oroolong, where they arrived safe, about four o'clock.

Among the first employments after Captain Wilson's return, was a matter of discipline. During his absence, the cook had misbehaved exceedingly, spoiling the rice, and appropriating to himself a great part of the small portion of the meat allowed along with it. As it was necessary, in their present situation, that the strictest discipline should be exercised, Captain Wilson, by a court-martial, ordered him a *cobbing*. The native tenderness of Raa Kook's disposition appeared eminently on this occasion. When he saw the man stripped to the waist, and his hands tied against a tree to keep him extended, he entreated Captain Wilson to let him off. The punishment of cobbing is inflicted by a thin flat piece of wood, like a battledoor; which Raa no sooner saw exercised, and the man bearing it patiently, than he admitted its propriety, and stood by all the time. A Chinese was also punished in the same manner, for wounding one of his countrymen with a stone; but he set up so lamentable a cry, that Raa Kook was greatly entertained with his pusillanimity.

The canoes now frequently touched at Oroolong with fish, so that the English had in general plenty of fresh provisions. On the 15th of October, three canoes landed, in one of which was a woman, the first they had yet seen at the cove. She went through the different works, and surveyed every thing with great attention, but with great caution. The men that accompanied her did not land, nor could Captain Wilson conceive from

whence they came. It was conjectured they were from Emilligree, as none of the English could recollect of any of their countenances.

Abba Thulle arrived about ten o'clock on the 17th, with the agreeable news, that the chief minister of Artingall had been at Pelew with offers of peace, which had been concluded upon, to the great joy of Raa Kook and the other natives. Abba Thulle brought with him his youngest daughter, named *Erre Bess*, of whom he appeared to be exceedingly fond. He conducted her through all the cove, and explained the use of every thing with much attention. Besides her, he also brought with him on this visit *Ludee*, one of his wives, a very beautiful woman, young, and greatly superior to any of the females they had hitherto seen. Her genteel deportment and graceful step drew the attention of every beholder. She had with her eight or ten females, who were all escorted by Raa Kook, and shown the forge, vessel, guns, tents and other curiosities, with which they were greatly surprised. The king had also brought some of his artificers with him (or *Tacklebys*, as he called them), to observe the progress of the vessel, &c. He seemed peculiarly anxious that they should pay attention to the schooner, which all ranks agreed in considering as the *ne plus ultra* of human workmanship. After their curiosity had been fully satisfied, the captain prepared an entertainment for them in the tent, consisting principally of fish and boiled rice, sweetened with molasses, of which they appeared very fond.

A good deal of conversation took place on this visit between the king and Captain Wilson on various subjects. Abba Thulle acknowledged that

the English muskets had now procured him peace with almost all his neighbours. He at the same time requested that the captain would leave ten muskets with him when he left the island. This Captain Wilson told him would not be in his power, as Britain was at present engaged in war with several different nations, with whose vessels they might fall in on their return homeward, and so required defensive weapons; but he promised him five, which greatly pleased him. Abba Thulle then inquired what quantity of powder they had; but observing that Captain Wilson was not disposed to answer him readily, he very politely changed the subject. The captain then desired he would assure his neighbouring islanders, that the English, deeply sensible of the kind usage they had received from the inhabitants of Pelew, were determined to return very soon, in a much larger ship, and with a greater number of men, and fully avenge any insult that might be offered to the Pelewites, either by the people of Artingall, or any other island.

Agreeable to a former promise of Captain Wilson's, Abba Thulle then informed him, he had come at this time to get the guns from the wreck, which should either be placed at Oroolong or Pelew, as the English pleased. Captain Wilson having previously consulted his officers, desired him to take them all to Pelew, except one, which they might perhaps need in the schooner. Accordingly, next day, the king ordered some of his people to go to the wreck, in order to remove them. Having no tackle, they found it a very difficult task, and were forced to send for ten of our people to assist them. The Englishmen speedily

lodged them in the canoes, to the surprise of the natives, who could not conceive it possible to handle these heavy pieces with such apparent ease.

The king lodged at the back of the island, carrying with him all his attendants, that the English might be as little interrupted by them as possible. He had not been long there, when he sent for Captain Wilson to give him his ten large fish, part of a quantity his people had taken. Of these he would only receive four, which would afford a plentiful supper to all his people; and such is the nature of the climate there, that no fish will keep fresh above five or six hours. The king then ordered the remaining six to be dressed for keeping, and sent to the cove in the morning. Their method of cleaning and dressing them is as follows. The fish is first well cleaned, washed, and all the scales taken off, then two sticks are placed lengthways along the fish, in order to keep it straight, in the same manner as sticks are placed along salmon in this country when kippering. It is then bound round with broad plaintain leaves, and smoked over a slow fire. In this state it will be eatable for at least two days, though not very pleasant.

In the morning, the ears of the English were saluted with the noise of singing in the woods, which proved to be Raa Kook and his attendants coming across the country, with the six dried fish, which were very acceptable. This morning the king went to the wreck, returned to the cove, and breakfasted on tea with Captain Wilson, three Artingall people being also of the party. After breakfast, the strangers were led through the works, and

their surprise was not at all inferior to any that had yet been expressed. The guns particularly interested them, as the means by which so many of their countrymen died, in a manner then incomprehensible. In a few days they had a farther opportunity of seeing the effects of the muskets, by Mr Benger's killing some pigeons while on the wing. They ran to the carcases, examined them very attentively, and upon noticing the wounds, observed, it was with such holes as these their countrymen died. On this occasion the Pelewites seemed to exult a little over their neighbours, on the ignorance which the latter showed of the use of fire-arms. The people of Artingall, however, showed no animosity on this account, but seemed quite happy and at ease.

Captain Wilson had now occasion to complain to Abba Thulle of a theft which had been committed by some of his people, consisting in a cooper's adze and a caulking-iron. The latter he recovered immediately, but the adze he found had been carried to Pelew.

On Monday the 20th, the king went again to the wreck, and, in his absence, a message was sent by Raa Kook to Captain Wilson, informing him that he was very much indisposed, and wished much to see the captain and Mr Sharp. They went immediately to see their good friend, whom they found much distressed with a large boil on his arm, attended with a considerable degree of fever. Mr Sharp dressed it with care, and found him much better on his return in the evening, when the king was present, and expressed great thankfulness for the attention paid to his brother. Abba

Thulle appeared very much interested for his recovery, and on every occasion manifested the highest concern about all his relations and friends. Captain Wilson observed, when there in the forenoon, that Raa Kook was attended by his wives, who appeared greatly agitated; their breasts were scratched and bleeding, by means of a prickly leaf, which they applied very smartly, in order to testify their concern.

During Abba Thulle's residence on Oroolong, the English were regularly supplied with fresh and dried fish, which were very acceptable; among the rest were some Kima cockles, so famous throughout Europe for their beautiful shells. Another unknown animal was observed about this time, somewhat similar to our bat, but four times its size. It runs along the ground, climbs trees, and leaps from branch to branch with great alertness; besides which, it has wide extended wings, and flies rapidly. It is esteemed a delicacy at Pelew, and, like the pigeon, sacred to chiefs only. On the 21st, Abba Thulle came round to the cove on his way to Pelew. He asked Captain Wilson if the English would assist him in battle once more, to which Captain Wilson readily agreed. He then told him, that there would be a grand council held at Pelew on the subject next day, the result of which he would communicate. On this account Raa Kook would not remain behind, though far from well, his presence being necessary in council The king then informed the captain, that he would send him a quantity of paint for the vessel, and desired the jolly-boat might be sent for it. This was done, and a quantity sent, much more than sufficient for the purpose. It consisted of red and yellow ochre,

being all the natural paints of the country. The king sent a strict charge to preserve the baskets, in which the colours were packed, from wet; and informed them, that men would be sent proper for painting the vessel, on their return from the proposed expedition. Mr Devis, Tom Rose, and another of the English seamen went with the king to Pelew, and remained there till the 24th, in which time Abba Thulle had made still farther inquiries at them as to various particulars, particularly as to the nations with whom Captain Wilson had mentioned the English were at war.

By the 26th of October, the vessel was breamed, and the outside caulking completed. The same day, a number of strangers touched at the cove, in ten canoes; they proved to be friends to Abba Thulle, on their way to join his fleet. It appeared that they had previously heard of the English, and by that means were not so much surprised at seeing them; yet they were greatly entertained with the various works through which they were conducted. Their chief was an elderly man, and spent the greater part of the time they were on shore in Captain Wilson's tent. Finding a book on his table, he was much pleased with the appearance of it, and entertained himself by reckoning the number of leaves in it, a task which he could not accomplish, having frequently proceeded the length of fifty, but being unable to go further.

Mr Sharp now paid a visit to Raa Kook, to inquire after his health, and was happy to find him much better. One of the surgeons at Pelew had cut the core of the boil, and the surrounding flesh, with one of their knives. When we consider the nature of the instrument with which all their sur-

gical operations are performed, and that all their knowledge consists in cutting out the part affected, one cannot avoid feeling for the pain, or rather torture, which those must endure, who are so unhappy as to need their assistance. Perhaps they may now be enabled to execute their operations with somewhat less pain, as the English distributed a few twopenny knives among them. Mr Sharp redressed Raa Kook's sore, and left several dressings, with proper directions for application. His visit to the general was considered as very flattering, and secured his favour not with the friends of his patient only, but with all the island, who were particularly attached to Raa Kook.

In the afternoon of Monday, the 27th of October, Abba Thulle arrived at Oroolong, with a great number of canoes in his train: they formed the third grand division of the fleet, which altogether consisted of upwards of 300 canoes. They sailed in good order, and made a very formidable appearance. The following ten men prepared to go on this expedition:—Mr Matthias Wilson, Thomas Wilson, William Roberts, Thomas Dutton, Nicholas Tyacke, Madan Blanchard, Thomas Whitfield, John Duncan, James Swift, and William Steward. Immediately on the king's landing, he was informed the men were ready; upon which they all embarked, the English on shore giving them three cheers, which they, in concert with the natives, returned very warmly.

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITION TO PELELEW—VISIT FROM ABBA THULLE—LAUNCHING OF THE SCHOONER—PRESENTS TO THE KING—PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE—CAPTAIN WILSON MADE A RUPACK—BLANCHARD'S DETERMINATION TO REMAIN—PROPOSAL FOR LEE BOO RETURNING WITH THE ENGLISH—OTHER PROCEEDINGS PREVIOUS TO SAILING.

THE armament were scarcely out of sight, when a very furious storm arose at Oroolong, which distressed them all exceedingly, not only on account of the danger of the vessel and tents, but the apprehensions they reasonably entertained for the safety of their absent friends. They were, however, soon relieved. On Thursday the 30th October, about midnight, after their companions had been gone only about three days, a canoe was observed coming towards the harbour, and the crew calling out *Englees*, they were permitted to land. In this canoe came Arra Kook and the surgeon's *sucalic*, or friend, the news of whose arrival soon raised the English from their beds, to hear some account of their friends. The original cause of the contest with the natives of Pelelew it seems had been, their refusing to deliver up two people

that had been saved from the Malay wreck. Immediately, therefore, on Abba Thulle's appearing on their coast, the enemy laid down their weapons, offered presents, and delivered up the two *Malaymen*. Next day, these agreeable tidings were confirmed by the return of the party, who gave the following account of the expedition :—

" They met with very bad weather the first night, and were obliged to land on an uninhabited island, about four leagues distant from Pelelew, where they erected temporary huts. Next day, two different parties went on an excursion to a neighbouring island, where they terrified the natives, and pillaged a little. Abba Thulle then called a council, in consequence of which Arra Kooker set off next morning to Pelelew, and concluded the peace. On his return in the afternoon, the English were informed, that, in the present situation of affairs, it would be derogatory to his dignity to approach Pelelew ; but if they had any wish to see the island, Arra Kooker would attend them. This offer was accepted, having previously entered into a bargain, to keep close together, in case of treachery on the part of the Pelelewans They were attended by a great number of the Pelew people, and highly entertained with the appearance of the island. They found the country pleasant and fertile ; the land appeared nearly level, and the houses were large and better constructed than those at Pelew. The natives seemed to be friendly and humane, and they showed a very marked respect to our countrymen, although the object of their visit had been to spread devastation. Indeed, the natives of Pelew discovered a degree of rancour against these Pelelewans ra-

ther inconsistent either with their character or practice. The English were ready to think they had been stimulated to it by the Malay, in order to get his two friends out of their hands.

Abba Thulle made a very short stay at Oroolong, as did even Raa Kook. They returned to Pelew, accompanied by the king of Pelelew. This rupack was an elderly man, and of a stern rough appearance; his hair was grey, and his beard tapered to a narrow point. The only other particular in which he differed from the people of Pelew was, his being tatooed quite up to the navel, while their tatooing did not exceed the middle of their thighs. Mr Sharp, with four of the men, set off the day following for Pelew, in order to bring over some molasses promised them by Raa Kook. He mentioned that the usual rejoicings had taken place at Pelew on the happy termination of this expedition; and songs were composed on the occasion in which these words could be distinguished, "*Englees*,—Weel a *Trecoy*" (very good); and in a particular manner *Tom Rose* was celebrated in them. This young man acted as an interpreter on all occasions, and, possessing a kind of pleasantry, had made himself a favourite among the natives.

About this time Captain Wilson intimated a wish to his officers and crew, that they would agree to a few days being spent in navigating round the shores of this cluster of islands, where they had spent so many weeks with a degree of comfort and satisfaction, far surpassing their most sanguine expectations. He told them they were the first Europeans who had hitherto visited these islands, a general view of which, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, could not but

be acceptable to their employers, and a service to mankind. He proposed, therefore, to spend some little time in visiting the parts of the group at which they had not yet touched; Abba Thulle would cheerfully give them all the assistance in his power, and it was a task which could easily be overtaken. But, however plausible the scheme, it was approved by none—the fear of being engaged in hostilities with some of those islands to which they were strangers; the danger of encountering sea storms in small canoes; and, above all, the protracting the anxiously expected hour when they should again set sail for their native country, determined them all to entreat the captain to lay aside the scheme, which he accordingly did.

Meanwhile the vessel advanced apace, and a consultation was held respecting the safest method of launching her, which was agreed to be by laying ways, rather than by large rollers as proposed by some. They had neither pitch nor rosin to pay her with; this want, necessity, the mother of invention, taught them to supply, by burning coral stone into a lime; then, sifting it thoroughly, they mixed it up with grease, and found it in an excellent succedaneum.

The reader will not have followed his countrymen thus far, and seen Providence rescuing them from the jaws of death, and protecting them in these hitherto unknown regions, without feeling his heart warmed in no common degree to the friendly islanders, by whom they were protected; yet it is now necessary to unfold a scene on the part of the English, which, without well weighing the accompanying circumstances, he will be ready to censure as ungrateful, ungenerous, and cruel.

Instances of such noble liberality, uncontrolled by art or interest, and continued so long, are so very rare even in civilized nations, that the minds of several of the English were ready to take alarm at the smallest accident, lest all this overflowing kindness should have been shown to lull them into security, till their own ends should be first served, and they could then more effectually cut them off. A message from the king at this time, informing them that he proposed paying them a visit in a few days, and remaining with them till their departure, gave the first alarm; but on Tuesday November the 4th, two canoes being observed off the harbour towards night, and neither of them coming in, it was concluded that they were spies, and that the natives, conscious of the value of their aid in battle, intended to prevent their departure. Every precaution was therefore made for a vigorous defence, in spite of the eloquence of Captain Wilson, who insisted that it was a degree of injustice to entertain even a suspicion of a people so hospitable, and a prince so generous and humane. He ridiculed the idea of defence, supposing the natives really meant to detain them, as the ammunition was nearly expended, and the natives could so easily cut off their fresh water. These, and many other arguments equally forcible, availed nothing: it was determined that every one should be on his guard; that the swivels and six pounder should be loaded with grape-shot, the small arms charged with ball, and the cartouch-boxes loaded with cartridges, and lest they should be overpowered with numbers, it was agreed to single out the chiefs for the bayonet or musket, with a view to dismay and disperse the multitude. There is not one circum-

stance in all this narrative more painful to relate, than that which truth now requires us to mention; that the amiable and noble Abba Thulle, the humane, benevolent Raa Kook, and the cheerful, cordial, and warm-hearted Arra Kooker, were to have been the first victims of this frenzy; not that the English were dead to every sense of honour, gratitude, and generosity; but when the precious cup of liberty was now almost at their lips, the dread of its being yet wrenched from them, however groundless, wrought so powerfully as to absorb, *for a moment*, every principle of honour. Happy are we to say, it was but for a little time, that these ungenerous sentiments prevailed: the reflection of a night greatly moderated them, and, by the morning, there were none of the company who did not feel, in some degree, the force of the arguments urged by Captain Wilson on the preceding night; nay, many among them blushed at the appearance they had made to one another, and discovered the weakness of human nature, when struggling between the hopes of returning to their native country, and the dread of perpetual detention.

Agreeably to a previous promise he had made to the king, Captain Wilson despatched the jolly-boat to Pelew, on the morning of the 6th of November, under the direction of Mr Sharp and Mr Matthias Wilson, who carried along with them all the iron and tools they could spare. They were desired to inform Abba Thulle, that, until the vessel was completely finished, they could not spare him the muskets, nor any more tools, but, in the meantime, they hoped to have the pleasure of a visit from him, as they expected to be ready to sail

in a few days. They were also desired to express, in the warmest manner, the high sense the English entertained of the unbounded kindness they had received, which they were determined publicly to declare on their return to Britain. While Captain Wilson was talking with his ambassadors about this message, Madan Blanchard entered the apartment in quest of some tools he wanted; and immediately took the opportunity of desiring Tom Rose, who was to be of the party, to inform the king that he was determined to stay behind and reside at Pelew; and, upon the captain ridiculing his message, he solemnly declared his resolution not to embark. Many attempts were made to convince him of the impropriety of such a step, but all in vain. Meantime, the captain ordered that this circumstance should not be mentioned at present, and the boat departed. By Captain Wilson's desire, Blanchard's companions used every argument in their power to divert him from a scheme so very imprudent in every point of view; but he informed them that his mind was resolved. The idea of deserting his comrades suggested itself on his return from the first expedition against Artingall, and he then mentioned it; at the same time adding, that he would cheerfully join in their daily labours, with the same diligence and perseverance as any of them; but that he had resolved to end his days at Pelew, without again encountering the elements. Having formed no particular connexion with any female native, they looked upon him as in jest, but he never altered his resolution.

Next day the boat returned from Pelew, having in company the king, his young favourite daughter, Raa Kook, and several chiefs of dis-

tinction. They had been impeded by a storm; and as formerly noticed, though they go perfectly naked, and frequently bathe, they seek shelter from a storm of rain, with the eagerness of an English beau, to preserve a new or fashionable coat. The Englishmen in the pinnace fell in with the Pelew company in their canoes during the storm, and accompanied them to the island of Pethoull, where they spent the night together. The ladies who were of the party, expressed not a little disappointment in being obliged to halt a night by the way, as they were very impatient to see the launch at Oroolong. They supped together very cheerfully, when there was again opportunity of remarking, that no one presumed to eat till the monarch had pronounced the word *Munga*, that is *Eat*, upon which a signal is given to the attendants without, when all begin to eat together. Each one's share was portioned out on a plantain leaf, which served for a plate; though on great occasions they use a sort of dish made of tortoise-shell, and others of earthenware and wood. They cut their meat with a knife made of split bamboo, with which they carve very tolerably.

Messrs Sharp and Wilson now presented the king with the iron tools, which were very graciously received. They explained the method of using them, to which Raa Kook paid particular attention. The Malay took this opportunity of hinting, that the English had not sent the muskets they had promised; to this Raa Kook replied, with a look of great indignation, that they had sent all they had promised to send, previous to their departure; that they had not spoken with two tongues as he, worthless Malay, had dared to sug-

gest, and of which they had given due notice; that this insinuation was similar to the former, by which he had nearly effected a difference between them. The discredit which this behaviour brought upon the Malay, not with Raa Kook only, but all the chiefs, quite disconcerted him, and he retired in confusion.

The order in which the company sat during this night's entertainment, is worthy of notice. The house in which they were was all one large apartment; torches were lighted, and stuck in betwixt the boards of the floor, in a line through the centre of the room; and the company sat in rows with their backs to the light.

When ready to retire to rest, the servants brought in the mats, and fires being lighted to defend from the musquitoes, the torches were extinguished, and all was silence. This, however, was interrupted about two or three in the morning by the arrival of a messenger, who was introduced to the king. This they afterwards learned was a message from some of the neighbouring islands, inquiring the time of the departure of the English. The method which Abba Thulle used to send his answer, was to take a string, and put as many knots upon it as there were days in the time. This inquiry at first sounded rather disagreeable to the English; but it afterwards proved to be a fresh instance of their kindness, as the information was desired only for the purpose of contributing to their sea-store.

Next morning proved calm, and they set sail; the king and his daughter, Raa Kook and another chief, went with the English in the pinnace. A sudden squall arising, nearly overset most of the

canoes; but the pinnace sailed very easily, to the great satisfaction of Abba Thulle, who was mightily pleased to hear that Captain Wilson proposed leaving her with him.

Immediately on his arrival, Abba Thulle ordered his men to proceed in painting the vessel, which they did. Raa Kook himself assisted in the operation, under the immediate direction of the king. The stern was the place which he decorated with all his art; in particular, he was at pains with two circles and some little zigzag ornaments hanging from them, the particular intention of which the English never discovered. In the afternoon, the ship was lowered off the blocks upon the ways; but being too much over to one side, was swept with a rope, and to bouse her over, a tackle got upon it. The king, attentive to their proceedings, fetched a long pole, to apply as a lever to heave the vessel over; but, on a hint being given that it was wrong, he desisted. She was easily got upon the ways, and every thing being ready, the next morning was appointed for the important launch. The king now sat down near the scene of bustle; and after a short conversation with his brother and the chiefs, ordered it to be signified to Captain Wilson, that it was his request he would change the name of the ship to that of the Oroolong, in remembrance of the island and the people. A ready concurrence being universally given, the good prince appeared more than commonly happy. The captain being told that Blanchard was coming to offer himself to the Pelew king, determined to make a merit of necessity, and therefore signified to Abba Thulle, that, as a return for the hospitality with which the English had been treated, they

would leave one of their comrades with him as a perpetual resident, who would be qualified to manage the great guns and other things, that they did not understand. The idea was by no means thrown away; the king was gratified beyond measure.

This night Blanchard spent with the king, and was well entertained. He promised to make him a Rupack, to give him two wives, with a house and plantations, and to keep him always with himself or Raa Kook. All the crew regretted much parting with Blanchard; his agreeable behaviour made him beloved by his companions, who lost no opportunity of speaking in his behalf to the natives. This resolution, however, was inexplicable; it was difficult to conjecture what motives could urge him to forsake the society among whom he had hitherto lived, and be separated from them perhaps for ever. As Abba Thulle, Raa Kook, and the natives in general, considered his remaining among them as a very great compliment, they were resolved to make him happy. He was only about twenty years of age when left on the island.

Abba Thulle desired Captain Wilson and his officers to point out to him a proper spot about the cove, where he meant to plant some cocoanuts and yams, for the refreshment of the English on their next visit. This was done accordingly; and it was observed, that upon the grain being put in the ground, the person planting muttered a few words to himself. An attempt was also made to launch the vessel this afternoon, but in vain.

We come now to contemplate a scene peculiarly interesting. Next morning (Sunday the 9th of October) the English proceeded before day-break

to make ready for the launch. It need scarcely be mentioned, that uncommon pains had been taken to put every thing in the most favourable train for getting her afloat. About seven the king and attendants were desired to be present, and in a little time the vessel was happily launched, to the general joy of every spectator. Never was there a more affectingly happy scene. Every eye seemed to sparkle with a lustre borrowed for the occasion. Every countenance looked animated joy and heartfelt satisfaction; but few could utter their feelings; looks of congratulation were exchanged, while every one shook his neighbour's hands with the warmest fervour. Home, wives, parents, children, friends—all—all seemed as within grasp—but description is unequal to this task. Let not however the behaviour of their Pelew friends be forgotten. Their joy, which was also unbounded, proved them to be animated by a spirit of real philanthropy. They saw those friends whom they valued about to leave them; those friends by whom they had been so much benefited, and from whom they had learned so much—but they saw them happy—they knew their whole comfort depended upon the success of this event, and therefore their benevolent hearts participated in the general joy.

After breakfast, the happiest meal they had made since the loss of the Antelope, the English proceeded to carry every thing on board with all possible expedition, and in the afternoon, the flood tide coming in, the ship was hauled into the basin, where they had four or five fathoms of water; and in the course of the day, they got on board all the provisions, stores &c. except such only as were to

be given in presents to the king; and in the morning they took on board their anchors, cables, and other necessaries, making bitts, and fitting a rail across the stern of the vessel.

Abba Thulle being now at the watering-place, sent for Captain Wilson to attend him; on whose arrival it was intimated to him, that the rupacks had determined to invest him with the Order of the Bone, and to create him a rupack of the first rank; an honour which Captain Wilson said he considered very flattering, and would receive with much joy. We shall mention this ceremony of investing with the Bone with some minuteness, as it is a distinction never obtained without the most unequivocal proofs of merit in the field, in the council, or in domestic life; and it is esteemed a supreme felicity by the distinguished candidate. Some may be ready to smile, and ridicule the importance which these children of nature attach to this simple ceremony; but it were happy for European nations, if their marks of honour were as carefully conferred, and as surely indicated true merit in the possessor. The glaring ceremony with which the Order of the Star and Garter, or the dignity of a Peerage, is conferred in Britain, does not convey more honourable sentiments of the distingnished object to the beholders, than this simple unadorned badge of honour does at Pelew.

The king and rupacks having retired to the shade of some trees, they inquired at Captain Wilson of which arm he made most general use, which having found to be the right, they took a circular bone, prepared for the purpose, through which, with a good deal of trouble, they compressed his

hand. After it had been fairly passed over the joints of the hand, and fixed on the wrist, the king addressed him nearly as follows. "*You are now invested with our highest mark of honour, and this Bone, the signal of it, you will carefully keep as bright as possible, rubbing it every day. This high mark of dignity must always be valiantly defended, nor suffered to be wrested from you but with your life.*" He was then complimented by his brother chiefs, on being admitted into their order; and the inferior natives, flocking round, shouted aloud to the *Englees Rupack.*

Monday the 10th, the old dwellings at the cove were cleared, and all the necessaries carried on board. The wondering natives so thronged the vessel, that the English were obliged to complain to Raa Kook, who received orders from the king, that none but rupacks should go on board; but that the multitude might observe her at some little distance in their canoes. As soon as the sails were bent, they took her to the west side of the island, and moored her in six fathoms water. An immense concourse of natives followed in their canoes, hallooing and shouting in a most joyous manner. The king's two brothers accompanied them, and repeatedly called to their people to be minute in observing the management of the ship; as if, at some period, they expected to have one of their own. The captain then went on shore to the king, who was waiting for him at Oroolong. Abba Thulle now resumed the subject of sending two of his people to England. He told the captain, by means of the interpreter, that he had the happiness of being much respected by all his subjects, as being superior not only in rank, but un-

derstanding. Yet, after living with the English, he had often felt his own insignificance, in seeing the meanest among them display an ingenuity, and exercise talents of which he had no conception. He had therefore resolved to part with his youngest son, Lee Boo, who should, in company with one of the Malays, be intrusted to captain Wilson's care, that he might be instructed in such sciences as would tend, on his return, to advance the prosperity of the people, and reflect honour on the royal family. He described the youth as sensible, of a mild, pliable disposition, and a stranger to every kind of vice. He was under the care of an old man who lived at some distance, but had orders to be at Oroolong in the morning. Captain Wilson replied, that this mark of his regard and esteem affected him deeply, and he should ever think of his confidence with pride. He assured Abba Thulle, that any person belonging to Pelew would meet with attention from him; but the son of the man to whom he had been so much indebted, he held himself engaged by every tie, to treat with the same tenderness as his own son.

Nor were these the only persons who wished to accompany the English. For some time an uncommon gloom had obscured Raa Kook's cheerful countenance, which seemed to increase as the hour approached when he was to part with his beloved *Englees*. It was afterwards discovered, that so great was his attachment to the English, that he had asked permission of his brother, the king, to accompany them home. This, however, could not be granted, as Abba Thulle reminded him, he was next to him in command, and, in case of death, his successor, therefore it would be exceedingly

imprudent in him to take such a step. A nephew of the king's at the same time made application to the same purpose. He was son to the brother who was slain at Artingall, as before mentioned. This young man urged his suit to Captain Wilson with great importunity; but the Captain declined any answer, till he had obtained permission from his uncle. Captain Wilson conversed on the subject with Abba Thulle, who declared that the young man was unworthy of his protection, being of an idle and rambling disposition, and inattentive to his family. At the same time, the young man appearing to plead his own cause, the king sternly addressed him nearly to the following purport. "*You are undutiful to your aged mother, and though you have deserving wives, you use them ill. Your vile conduct has been publicly exposed, and now you are ashamed, and would fly from your family! Remain where you are, and let your sense of shame amend your life.*"

Abba Thulle now modestly hinted a request to Captain Wilson, that before he set sail, he would sail round in his new vessel to Pelew. He particularly mentioned, that many aged people there had never yet seen their vessel, and were very anxious to do so; it would not detain them long, and would be very agreeable to all his people. The Captain at once conceived that this proposal would be very disagreeable to his men, and perhaps revive their former suspicions; he therefore suggested such objections as satisfied the king that the step would be improper.

The weather and wind appearing favourable, the captain informed Abba Thulle, that they intended sailing the next day. This very much distressed

the king. We have formerly mentioned the embassy which had been sent him at Pethoull; in answer to which he had sent word, that the day following that now mentioned by the captain, was the day the English meant to sail, in consequence of which, all the neighbouring rupacks would repair to Oroolong the next night, to furnish them with provisions, and bid them farewell. This information determined the captain still more to set sail in the forenoon, as the number of canoes to be expected, would greatly incommode them. He therefore apologized in the best manner he could to the king, who appeared greatly disappointed. He then begged that the captain and officers would dine with him and his brothers on shore. With this they cheerfully complied; and after dinner Arra Kooker so pathetically begged for the favourite dog, of which he had become excessively fond, that they could not resist his solicitations, though it would be a subject of particular regret among the sailors. But the general's thoughts were far otherwise employed; he was already building a ship in imagination; and to realize his design, wished them to leave their launching frames, saying he would go to work on the same place. The king had laughed at the insignificance of Arra Kooker's request of the dog; but the subject of ship-building caught his most serious attention. It was of national importance, and, of course, demanded the patronage of a good prince. In the midst of their discourse, a fight on board the ship between two sailors, called for the presence of the Captain. The damage proved no greater than a bloody nose; which being settled, Mr Wilson again returned. When the circumstance was ex-

plained to the king, he observed that there were no doubt bad men in all countries. The English asked, and obtained permission to hoist a pendant on a tree near the cove, with an inscription in the following terms, on copper, to be placed on another tree adjacent.

THE HONOURABLE
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIP
THE ANTELOPE,
HENRY WILSON, COMMANDER,
Was lost upon the Reef north of this Island,
In the night between
the 9th and 10th of August;
Who here built a vessel,
And sailed from hence
The 12th day of November 1783.

Captain Wilson explained the purport of this inscription to Abba Thulle, who was greatly pleased with it: and having explained it to his people, he assured the English that it should carefully stand there in remembrance of their visitors.

The conversation this day was principally confined to the approaching separation. "When you are gone," said the king, "I much dread that the Artingalls will redouble their attempts against me; and, deprived of your aid, I shall probably feel the effects of that animosity they have always felt towards my people; and having no more the English to support me, I will not be a match for them unless you leave the few muskets you promised me." The captain was quite ready to comply with the request immediately; but most of the officers, still beset with apprehensions, were

unwilling to give up the arms till the last moment. That unlucky suspicion which had so ungenerously taken possession of them, had been so rivetted in their minds, that it was not easily dislodged.

Abba Thulle was too quicksighted not to observe their distrust; and, willing to show he had noticed it, he asked them, in his usual calm reflecting manner, "*What is there can make you harbour doubts of me? I never testified any fear of you, but endeavoured to convince you that I wished your friendship. Had I been disposed to have harmed you, I might have done it long ago. I have at all times had you in my power, but have only exercised that power in making it useful to you, and can you not confide in me at the last?*"

When the foregoing pages are attentively considered, the hospitality with which our people had been treated, both by Abba Thulle and the natives, from the first friendly interview to the present moment—who had spread before them whatever they had to give, or their country produced; and when, added to this, the king, as an unequivocal proof of the high opinion he entertained of the English, was about to consign his own son to their care—is there a reader who, recalling all these circumstances, can wonder they affected the sensibility of Abba Thulle? Or rather, is there a reader who will not be ready with myself to ask, If it was possible to make a more cutting reproof than this of the king's? Every individual felt its force and its truth; every individual also felt how much his mind had injured this excellent man. Nor was the wound of this reproach rendered less acute by the consciousness each man had, of having been so lately induced, by unjust fears, to join

in such destructive counsel against him and his family.

But the eye of philosophy will candidly discriminate between the two parties. The people of Pelew, tutored in the school of Nature, acted from her impulse alone, were open and undisguised; unconscious of deceit themselves, they neither feared nor looked for it in others. Our countrymen, born and brought up in a civilized nation, where art assumes every form and colouring of life, and is even perfected into a science, were fashioned by education to suspicion and distrust, and awake to all their busy suggestions. Such is the fatal knowledge the world teaches mankind, shutting too often the human heart against the sources of its own happiness, by weakening confidence, the most valuable bond of society!

The king's rebuke was too powerful for our people to resist. They instantly desired the captain to assure him, that whatever had been promised should be faithfully fulfilled; and to convince him they had no suspicions, the arms should be immediately given to him. They accordingly sent on board for the quantity of arms they could with conveniency spare, and on the boat's return presented him with five muskets, five cutlasses, nearly a barrel of gunpowder, with gun-flints and ball in proportion. Captain Wilson also made him a present of his own fowling-piece, with which he seemed to be particularly pleased, having often seen its effect on the fowls and other birds at Pelew.

And now the gentle spirit of the king appeared to forget every trace of what had happened. But the scene presented to all who were present, a

most captivating picture of the forcible, yet mild triumph of virtue!

The king's second son, Lee Boo, arrived in the evening from Pelew, under the care of his elder brother. Abba Thulle presented him to the captain, and then to the officers. The young prince accosted them in so easy and polite a manner, and had so much good humour and sensibility in his aspect, that every one was prepossessed in his favour. As it was now getting dark, the officers went on board, leaving the captain behind, at the king's request. Next day Mr Wilson informed them, that neither he, the king, nor the rupacks, enjoyed much rest; the affectionate father employing the moments in giving advice to his son, and in recommending him to the care of the captain; not, however, from the smallest fear that he would be ill treated. "I would wish you," said he, "to show my son every thing that is useful, and make him an Englishman. The fine things he will see may probably induce him to slip away from you, in search of less confined gratification: but I beg that you will contrive to calm and subdue the rashness and impetuosity of his youth. I well know, from the different countries he must pass through, that he will be liable to dangers, and even to diseases that we never heard of, which may kill him; but I also know, that death is the common lot; and whether he dies with you, or at Pelew, is of no moment. I know you are a man of humanity; and am therefore confident that if my son be sick, you will look on him with kindness. But should that happen, which your utmost care cannot prevent, let it not deter you or your

brother, or any of your countrymen from returning. I shall ever receive you in friendship, and rejoice to see you." The captain assured the king, that he might rest satisfied of the care and affection with which his son would be treated. Before Captain Wilson came on board, he admonished Blanchard (the man who had resolved to renounce his country) as to his conduct among the natives; he desired him to be watchful of the arms and ammunition that would be left behind, that they might defend themselves from their enemies; he begged him not to go naked, like the natives, as it might lessen his importance with them as an Englishman, and be an evident indecency; and that he might have no excuse from the want of clothes, all that could be spared was left him; in order, also, that, if he accepted the king's offer of wives, he might be enabled to dress them somewhat after his own custom. The captain did not forget to enforce on him the absolute necessity of continuing his religious duties, and to be particular in keeping a Sabbath. After this, he was requested to ask any favour that might tend to his future comfort; on which he begged to have one of the ship's compasses, and the masts, sails, and oars belonging to the pinnace, which also was intended to be left behind.

Wednesday morning early, an English jack was hoisted at the mast-head of the Oroolong, and a swivel fired as a signal for sailing; which being explained to the king, he ordered all the provisions on board, which he had brought for our voyage. A great number of canoes surrounded the vessel, loaded with presents, so that it was with difficulty they could avoid being overstocked.

When just ready for sea, a boat was sent on shore for the captain, who then took Blanchard and the men of the boat into a temporary hut that had been erected, and making them kneel, offered up thanksgivings to that Power who had supported their spirits through so many hazards and toils, and had at last opened to them the door of deliverance. He repeated his advice to Blanchard, earnestly begging him not to forget his religion.

When Lee Boo came to the watering-place, there were sent with him three or four dozen of a very fine fruit, not unlike what is called in England the Dutch Paradise apple; it is of a fine crimson colour and oblong shape. This fruit is very rare at Pelew, though plentiful in the different South Sea Islands. One of them was given to every officer, and the remainder kept for Lee Boo.

About eight o'clock, the captain went on board, attended by Abba Thulle, Lee Boo, the Rupacks and Blanchard. It being doubtful, as the vessel was heavily laden with provision, whether she would be able to get over the reef, it was resolved to land the two six pounders, and leave the jolly-boat behind, as they had nothing to repair her with, and she was almost worn out. In her room Abba Thulle was at great pains to procure them a proper canoe.

Captain Wilson had recommended Mr Sharp the surgeon to Lee Boo, as his *sucalic* or friend; and the young man stuck by him with the greatest attention, attending him to whatever part of the vessel he moved, as his Mentor on all occasions. Blanchard now got into his pinnace, in order to take the vessel in tow, and parted from his old ship-

mates with as much composure as if they were to meet again after a short absence. He shook hands with them with the same indifference as if they were about to sail down the Thames on a coasting voyage—a striking contrast to what followed!

The vessel now proceeded towards the reef, laden with Abba Thulle's bounty to a degree of superfluity, yet surrounded by great numbers of the natives in their canoes, who had every man brought his present, for their good friends the *Englees*, entreating that they might be accepted. What a luxurious sight to a feeling heart! There was no possible room for any more, yet every one exclaimed, *only this from me, only this from me;* and if refused, they repeated their requests with supplicating countenances, and tears in their eyes. These testimonies of generosity and affection almost overcame the crew, and a few trifles from the nearest of them were accepted; while the others, unable to bear the seeming neglect, paddled a-head, and put their little presents in the pinnace, not knowing that she was again to return to the shore. Several canoes went before the vessel to point out the safest track, and others were waiting at the reef, to show them the deepest water. From all these precautions, which were directed by the king, the reef was fortunately cleared without any accident. The king now came alongside, and gave Lee Boo his blessing, which the youth received with great respect and tenderness. He next embraced the captain, in much apparent distress, and then cordially shook hands with all the officers, crying, "You are happy because you are going ome, and I am happy because you are happy; ut still very unhappy myself to see you going

away." Once more renewing his assurances of regard and good will, he left the vessel, and went into his canoe. The natives, who were to return with the king, all looked up to the vessel eagerly, but with looks more expressive than language; and the English might say, with truth, that they had left a whole people in tears. So deeply were they themselves impressed with the scene, that it was with much difficulty they summoned resolution enough to give three cheers at their final departure; and their eyes followed to catch the latest look. Raa Kook remained, with a few of his attendants, to see them out of danger beyond the reef; but was so deeply dejected, that the vessel had gone a great way before he thought of summoning his canoes to return. As he had been their first friend, the captain gave him a brace of pistols, and a cartouch-box with cartridges; and the moment of separation being now come, he appeared so much affected, that it was some time before he could speak. Pointing to his heart, he said it was there he felt the pain of bidding them adieu. He spoke a few words to Lee Boo; but, unable to proceed, precipitately went into the boat, and giving them a last expressive glance, instantly dropped astern.

Thus terminated our connexion with the natives of Pelew, after a residence among them from Sunday the 10th of August 1783, to Wednesday the 12th of November following. It may not be unseasonable, while the amiable behaviour of these two respectable characters, Abba Thulle and Raa Kook, is fresh in the recollection of the reader, to make a few general observations on their respective characters.

Never was a prince more formed to attract and retain the love and admiration of his subjects than Abba Thulle. In every part of his conduct, he showed himself firm, noble, gracious, and benevolent. There was a dignity in all his deportment, a gentleness in all his manners, and a warmth and sensibility about his heart, that won the love of all who approached him. Nature had bestowed on him a contemplative mind, which he had himself improved by those reflections that good sense dictated, and observation confirmed. His remarks on the affair of the muskets were as pointed, and at the same time as delicate a reproof as perhaps were ever thrown out. His conversation with Captain Wilson, respecting his son, whilst it showed an unbounded confidence on the part of the king, marked also the force of great sentiment and reasoning; and his rebuke, when refusing his nephew's solicitation, discovered a heart tutored in the sentiments of refined honour.

The happiness of his people seemed to be always in Abba Thulle's thoughts. In order more effectually to stimulate them to useful labour, he had himself learnt all the few arts they possessed, and was looked on, in some of them, to be the best workman in his dominions. In sending his son to England, and in the long instructions given him before his departure, he had not, nor could have, any other object in view, but that of benefiting his subjects by the future improvements he would bring back to his country; ideas, which the intercourse he had had with the English must have solely excited. In short, had his lot been thrown to rule over a great nation, connected with man-

kind, his talents and natural disposition might have made him the Peter of the Southern world!

Placed as he was by Providence in its obscurer scenes, he lived beloved by his chiefs, and revered by his people; over whom, whilst he preserved a dignity that distinguished his superior station, he reigned more as the father than the sovereign. The eyes of his subjects beheld their naked prince with as much awe and respect, as those are viewed who govern polished nations, and are decorated with all the dazzling parade and ornaments of royalty; nor was the purple robe, or the splendid diadem, necessary to point out a character, which the masterly hand of nature had rendered so perfect!

His brother Raa Kook was a prince of so universally engaging demeanour, and whose every action expressed something so truly valuable, that Englishmen and natives equally admired him. He was so much a friend to the English, that it may be suspected their account of him is partial; therefore little shall be here said, and that little not exaggerated.

This excellent man appeared to be somewhat upwards of forty years of age, was of a middling stature, rather inclinable to be corpulent; he had a great expression of sensibility in his countenance, tempered with much good nature. His character was firm and determined, yet full of humanity. In whatever he undertook he was steady and persevering. He delivered his orders to the people with the utmost lenity, but would be obeyed; and they, on every occasion, seemed to serve him with ardour and alacrity, as if mingling affection with duty. The reader must have observed, that from his first interview with our people, he had

shown an attachment to them, which was never abated. He was not of so serious a cast as the king, nor had he that turn for humour and mimickry which Arra Kooker so strongly possessed; but he had abundance of good humour, was always pleasant and lively, and well disposed to laughter, when there was occasion for it. He had an eager spirit of inquiry, and a desire to examine the causes and reasons of every effect which he saw produced, and was wonderfully quick in comprehending whatever was described to him. His mind was strong and active, his behaviour manly and courteous, and accompanied with so nice a sense of honour, that he felt it wounded whenever any of the natives had, by their little trifling thefts, violated, as he judged, the laws of hospitality, which he held most sacred, and always discovered an impatience till he could make them restore what they had taken. This he carried so far as even to show displeasure at the chief minister, for requesting a cutlass of Captain Wilson (at the first interview), thinking it a breach of hospitality to solicit a favour of those who were so situated, as not to be at liberty to refuse the request, though the granting of it might be inconvenient. He was much amused by the peculiar manner of the Chinese, and their mode of talking; would frequently sit down to pick oakum with them, on purpose to see more of them, without seeming to intrude. Our people were probably indebted in part to his good offices for the steady friendship the king had for them; at least, on their first coming, he certainly interested his brother in their favour. He beheld all duplicity with indignation, and publickly, before the king, showed his contempt of Soogle

the Malay, who had dared to throw out insinuations prejudicial to the English. He was communicative to our people on every occasion, and at all times willing to explain any thing to them; and had they always had the linguist at their elbow, or a language in which they could have more easily conversed with him, many things might have been cleared up which must now remain undetermined. —With all these excellent qualities, he appeared in his domestic character equally respectable; as the reader will recollect, who has had a view of his pleasant deportment in his own family, and has seen him in all the silent majesty of grief attending the obsequies of a valiant son who had been slain in fighting for his country. To all these circumstances I must add, that the concern he discovered in taking leave of his nephew and our countrymen, evidently proved the possession of an ample portion of sensibility.

Whilst I am closing this last remark on the character of Raa Kook, I cannot avoid making a general observation on the people of Pelew, who, though they appeared to be Philosophers in adversity, Stoics in pain, and Heroes in death, yet, in many of the more delicate feelings of the human breast, they possessed all the amiable tenderness of a woman!

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS—PRODUCTIONS—NATIVES—DRESS—DISPOSITIONS—MANNERS—RELIGION—MARRIAGES—CUSTOMS—GENERAL CHARACTER—GOVERNMENT—PRECEDENCY, &c.

As the Antelope was not a vessel fitted out for discovery, or furnished with scientific gentlemen, qualified for making philosophical observations, the naturalist, or philosopher, must await the issue of future discoveries and inquiries. Men racked with the dread of perpetual exile, and whose attention was almost wholly occupied about their deliverance, were not the persons for tracing nature accurately in her various appearances and effects.

The Pelew, or as some call them, the Palos Islands, are situated between 130° and 136° of east longitude from London, and 5° and 9° north latitude. They are long and narrow, lying in a north and east direction. They are plentifully covered with wood of various kinds, such as the *Cabbage Tree*, *Ebony*, and a species of the *Manchineel*, the sap of which, when it touches the skin, occasions an immediate swelling and blistering. This was the tree which they considered as unlucky. But their three most remarkable trees are such as we in Bri-

tain are total strangers to. There is one from which, upon boring a hole in it, a thick substance like cream distils: another is very like a cherry-tree in its manner of branching. It has a very thin cover, which is not properly a bark, being as close in the texture as the inner wood, which is very hard. None of the English tools could work it. In colour it is very like, though still prettier than mahogany. The last is like an almond tree, the natives call it carambolla. Beetle-nuts, yams, cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, afford their staple articles of food, about which they are principally concerned; and a few oranges, lemons, and the jamboo apple (the same kind brought to Lee Boo on his departure) are their delicacies. They have no grain. The islands are in general cultivated with great care. All the employment of the natives consists in fishing and agriculture. Every man has his own piece of ground so long as he is inclined to occupy it; but if he leaves it for another, it returns to the king as chief proprietor, who bestows it on the next that applies for it. One thing was very discernible, that every man had his own canoe, which he kept sacred.

It has already been mentioned, that there are no quadrupeds on the island, except rats. Several birds were seen flying about, whose plumage appeared to be extremely beautiful, but they probably might be of the same kinds as are in different countries between the tropics. The islands had also several small birds, whose notes were very melodious, particularly one which used to sing every morning and evening, and had a pipe sweet as a flageolet; our people often thought they were under the very tree whence the notes of this little

bird came, yet none of them were ever certain they had seen it. But we must not omit to mention, that the English have probably taught them a lesson which may be of great service to them. The islands abounded with common cocks and hens, which the natives considered as a very useless animal, and took no pains about them, but left them to wander wild through the woods. At times they would have eaten their eggs, provided they were according to their taste, that is, not fresh or lately laid; but if they contained an imperfect chicken, they were delicious. They were now however taught to eat the flesh of the fowls, which they soon found to be a very palatable food.

Few parts of the globe are so well supplied with fish of all kinds, particularly mullets, crabs, oysters, muscles, &c.; but the fish most esteemed among them is the shark, the greater part of which they reckon delicious. Several kinds of shell-fish they eat quite raw, in preference to dressed. They have few fresh-water fish, as there are no rivers on the islands, and only a few pools and small springs. Their method of preserving their fish, has been already noticed. They have no salt, and little conception of sauce or seasoning to any thing they eat. Sometimes they boil both fish and vegetables in salt water, but this is no improvement; but when they eat any thing raw, they squeeze a little orange or lemon juice upon it.

They get up early in the morning; the first thing they do is to bathe. There are particular places appointed for this; and a man dares not approach the women's bathing places, without previously giving a particular halloo, of which, if no notice is taken, he may proceed.; but if they halloo in re-

turn, he must immediately retire. They breakfast about eight, and proceed to public business or any other employment till noon, when they dine. They sup about sun-set, and very soon after retire to rest.

As the reader will have observed frequent mention made of their sweetmeats in this narrative, a more particular account of them may be proper. They had various sorts. One was prepared by scraping the kernel of the cocoa-nut into a pulp, and then mixing it up with orange juice and sweet drink. This sweet drink is a composition of the juice of sweet canes, which the island produces plentifully. This mixture they generally simmered over a slow fire, and, when warm, made it up into lumps; it soon turned so hard that a knife would scarce cut it. This the English called *Choakdog*, but the natives called it Woolell. Another sort is made up of the fruit of the tree just mentioned as resembling the almond tree; and on one occasion they presented Captain Wilson with some liquid sweetmeats, which they prepare from a root somewhat similar to our turnips.

The natives are in general stout, well made, and athletic; many of them appeared to be uncommonly strong. They are in general about the middle size, and universally of one tinge as to colour; not wholly black, but a very deep copper colour. The men have their left ear bored, and the women also. They wore a particular leaf, and at times an ornament of shell in the perforated ear. Their noses are also ornamented by a flower or sweet shrub stuck through the cartilage between the nostrils. This custom is not peculiar to Pe-

low, but is found in many eastern nations, and probably proceeds from their great desire for sweet scents; and though at first it appeared rather disagreeable, from want of use, it is certainly a more pleasant and becoming refreshment to the nose, than the use of tobacco, either by snuffing or plugging. Their teeth, as already mentioned, are dyed black; but the English could never learn the process, except that it was accomplished in their youth, by the application of some herbs, and that the operation was very painful. The tatooing of the body is also done in youth, though not altogether in childhood. The only appearance of any thing like dress is among the female sex, who in general wear a piece of mat, or the husks of cocoanut dyed, about nine or ten inches deep, round their waist. Some of these aprons are very neatly made, and ornamented with beads, &c. Abba Thulle's daughter, Erre Bess, gave Henry Wilson a present of a very neat one to carry to his little sister.

It has in general been granted, that mankind, however ignorant and savage, are still possessed of conscience, and the internal knowledge of some superior being, to whom they are accountable; nor has any class of men yet been discovered who have not some outward rite or ceremony whereby this knowledge is expressed. However superstitious, enthusiastical, or foolish their different modes of worship may appear to those who have been blest with revelation; nay, however much we may be puzzled to investigate a cause to which the singularity of some of their religious rites may be attributed, yet still the existence of one great First Cause or ruling Deity has been acknowledged,

not in word only, but by some outward ceremony or rite. To deny that any such custom exists at Pelew, and yet that they acknowledge a Superior Power, may be considered rash; yet, from the most attentive observations and inquiries the English could make, they have reason to believe that this is the case. Neither place, time, nor circumstance, could be observed as pointing to any worship or religious rite; nor could the English collect any thing from their conversation, though particularly questioned on the subject, from which they could discover their ideas concerning the God of Nature. The most probable conjecture is, that the inward monitor, at which we have just been hinting, leads them to think of some directing influence, good and bad, without any precise idea further.

In order that the reader may somehow be enabled to judge for himself in this particular, he may recollect the following circumstances, already mentioned. The *unlucky* wood which Abba Thulle mentioned to Captain Wilson; Raa Kook's behaviour in the old woman's house with the nuts, &c. after his son's funeral; and the muttering which took place on several occasions, mentioned through the preceding sheets. It was very clear that they had some strong fixed idea of *Divination*. When Lee Boo set out to sea, he was for several days uncommonly sick; and he then told Mr Sharp, he was sure his father and friends were very sorry for him, for they knew what he underwent. He was prepossessed with the same idea when dying, as we will soon have occasion to mention. Indeed, on one occasion, while in Britain, he seemed to intimate that they understood the spirit existed even

after death; as, upon occasion of Captain Wilson's informing him, the intention of going to church being to reform men's lives, and that they might go to heaven, he replied, that at Pelew, bad men stay on earth, and good men grow very beautiful, and ascend into the sky. When Mr Barker fell from the side of the vessel, the natives said it was owing to the *unlucky wood* being in the vessel; and upon several other occasions seemed to hint at the effects of a superior power. One particular mode of divination was observed, and considered to be peculiar to the king, as he alone used it. They have a plant, not unlike our bulrush, by splitting the leaves of which, and applying them to the middle finger, he judged of the success of any occurrence of moment. Before the first expedition to Artingall, it was noticed that the answer was very favourable; but when about to set sail on the second, the oracle did not appear altogether so agreeable; Abba Thulle therefore would not suffer them to enter their canoes, until he had twisted his leaves, till, as he thought, they appeared more favourable. On this subject we shall only further add, that the respectful attentive silence of the natives, while the English were at worship, seemed to indicate that, although they knew nothing of any religious forms of worship, yet they were not insensible of the existence of one *Great Supreme Cause*, who rewarded and punished men according to their deeds; and hence that strong sense of propriety, justice and delicacy, which produced among them the strictest morality.

As the general character of the natives of Pelew must be now pretty well imprinted on the reader's mind, only a very few additional observa-

tions will be necessary. Humanity is the prominent feature in the picture. The English were cast upon their territories in a state the most helpless that can well be conceived; twenty-seven men, without even common necessaries, entirely dependent on their bounty; fed, supported, assisted in their labours, and every thing done for them. Let us only for a moment consider the hourly bounty which was poured in upon strangers, not of superfluities, but, as the English had many occasions to observe, of their best provisions, while many perhaps had at home only a scanty portion. Only recollect the parting scene; see the crowding canoes holding out presents, not the distant effects of complaisance, but the warm effusions of philanthropy! Could ostentation, pride, or the hope of retribution influence them? By no means; it was kindness to men they never expected to see again.

Their native politeness was constantly observable. Possessing a degree of curiosity beyond any of the South Sea natives, they never knowingly intruded when it was inconvenient; in them it was evident that *good manners* are the natural result of *good sense*. The attention paid by the men of Pelew to their wives, was very uncommon in most parts of the world; and even a British husband might at times get a lesson. Their marriages seemed to consist in a serious solemn contract, without any formal ceremony; but the parties are strictly faithful to one another, and the utmost decency of behaviour is uniformly supported. A husband never sleeps with his wife when pregnant, but during that period the greatest attention is

paid to her, in order that she may be kept easy. A plurality of wives is allowed, though they generally confine themselves to two; a rupack has three, and the king five. They name the children soon after birth, without any ceremony. One of Abba Thulle's wives bore him a son while the English were there, which he named *Captain*, in memory of Captain Wilson. They are far from being naturally lascivious, and the utmost decency is preserved among the natives. One of the sailors endeavoured to pay his addresses to a female, but was repelled in a manner that prevented any further attempts.

They are in general an active, laborious people, possessing the greatest resolution in cases of danger, patience under misfortunes, and resignation at death. Except a few rupacks, there was little subordination of rank, (and of that we will speak presently), consequently their employments were pretty much the same; fencing their plantations, planting their yams, making hatchets, building houses and canoes, mending and preparing fishing tackle, forming darts and warlike weapons with domestic utensils, and burning chinem. These may be said to comprise the whole round of their employments. Those who had a particular turn for mechanical operations, or any uncommon work, were called *Tackelbys;* it was to them the king so often gave particular orders to observe the building of the schooner. Idleness was tolerated in none; the women were as laborious as the men, and the king and rupacks were as much employed as any. Abba Thulle was the best maker of hatchets in the island; he generally laboured at them when disengaged from affairs of state. They had no idea of

unemployed time; and therefore it is, that without the proper tools for finishing any fine work, practice had taught them, even with their coarse implements, to execute what a British artist could not have conceived practicable. Their mats, baskets, and ornaments are so curiously wrought, that, when their simple tools are considered, the ingenuity is more to be admired than much superior productions executed under the advantages which European mechanics enjoy.

That equality of station which appeared evidently among them, and their ignorance of those luxuries which civilization introduces, proved no inconsiderable source of happiness to them; the one prevented that ambition which is often so destructive to society, and the other those cares which affluence awakens. In all the connexion which the English had with them, robbery or rapine were never named among them. Nature, it is true, allowed them little, but that little they enjoyed with content. Human nature here shone in most amiable colours. Men appeared as brethren; they grasped at nothing more than competency and health. Linked together as in one common cause, they mutually supported each other. Courteous, affable, gentle and humane, their little state was cemented in bonds of harmony: But we must now give a short account of their government.

Abba Thulle, the king, was the chief person in the state, considered the father of his people, and though without any external decoration, all the homage due to royalty was paid to his person. He was supreme in the greater part of the islands, which came within the observation of the English; but Artingall, Pelelew, Emungs and Emelle-

gree appeared to be independent, though, from any thing that could be observed or learned, their form of government was similar. The general mode of making obeisance to the king, was by putting the hands behind the back, and bowing towards the ground. This was practised when passing him, not only in the streets or fields, but even the house in which he was supposed to be. His carriage and demeanour were gentle and gracious, but always full of dignity. He devoted the forenoon to public business, and decided every question of moment by a council of rupacks. They assembled in a square pavement in the open air, the king being placed in the centre, on a stone of larger size than those of the rupacks. They seemed to deliver their minds with freedom, and the assembly was dissolved by the king rising up. The afternoon was devoted to receiving petitions, hearing requests, and deciding controversies. These, it may easily be supposed, seldom occurred; for, as their property was small and of little value, and as there were no lawyers nor their emissaries to foment disputes, the proper barriers of right and wrong were easily defined. Wrangles and fighting seldom happened, for even a dispute between children was checked by a severe frown. When any real injury was done by any one to his neighbour, it was a pleasing sight to see how justice was administered. Their laws were the simple dictates of conscience as to right and wrong between man and man. No rhetoric or enticing words of wisdom were employed to mask vice under the cloak of virtue; none of these subterfuges were employed whereby fraud and oppression could be screened. Oaths were unknown, and the simple dictates of truth directed the

judge. Nor were there any punishment of a corporeal kind. To be convicted of injuring a neighbour was to them more galling and disgraceful than any pillory yet invented by British ingenuity.

Messages were transmitted to the king with great ceremony. The messenger never was admitted into the presence, but delivered it to an inferior rupack, who told the message to the king, and brought his answer.

The general was next in authority to the king, and acted for him in his absence. He summoned the rupacks to attend when needed, and had the chief command of all the forces; though it was observed, that, in actual engagement, when the king was present, he himself officiated. The general succeeded the king in case of his death, and, on his demise, Arra Kooker; when the sovereignty would again revert to Abba Thulle's eldest son, then to Lee Boo, and so on. The king had always an attendant, who, though not so high in office as the general, was more constantly about his person. He was considered as the principal minister, and a man of judgment. He never bore arms, nor went on the warlike expeditions. It was remarked that he had only one wife, and never invited any of the English to his house.

The *Rupacks* were very numerous, and considered in the same light as the nobility are in Britain. They were of different orders, distinguishable by the size and quality of the bone, of which Captain Wilson belonged to the highest rank. They all attended the king at command, every one bringing with him a certain number of dependants, with their canoes, spears and darts. The reader will be apt here to trace a similitude to the feudal

system; but, as the knowledge the English acquired of these matters was very superficial, nothing very conclusive can be ascertained. These and many other matters must be left for time to develop. All that can be said further at present is, that whatever was their precise mode of government, it was wonderfully adapted to the people. All the islands appeared populous, but the number is not easily conjectured. There were four thousand active men in the expedition against Pelelew, and it was evident many more were left at home, as not being needed.

Their method of building houses was very ingenious. They raised them three feet from the ground, in order to prevent damp. This space they filled up with solid stone, and overlaid with thick plank, as a floor. The walls were built of wood, very closely interwoven with bamboos and palm leaves, so that no cold nor wet could possibly come through. The roof was pointed in the same manner as village houses are in this country. Their windows are brought to a level with the floor, answering for doors also; and they have a sort of shutters, which they fill up the chasm with, when necessary. Their fires are kindled in the centre of the room, (for all the house is in one room), the fire-place being sunk lower than the floor, with no timber below it, the whole space being filled up with small stones, &c. Their houses for public meetings are about seventy feet long, but the common dwelling-houses do not exceed forty.

Their spears have already been mentioned; and it is only necessary to add concerning them, that they were barbed transversely, so that if once they

were stuck in the flesh, it was impossible to extract them. One of their most effective weapons in war is the dart and sling. The darts are thrown by means of an instrument, not unlike what is called a cross-bow in this country. Upon a strong straight piece of wood the dart is laid, and on one end of the wood is fixed an elastic piece of bamboo, by compressing which with greater or less force, they throw the dart to the distance of fifty or sixty feet. It is astonishing how exactly they can direct this weapon, and the distance at which it proves mortal. They have daggers about thirteen inches in length, which are made of bones of fish; and some of the rupacks had also a kind of sword, made of very hard wood, and inlaid with shells.

Their canoes are of admirable workmanship. They are made of the trunks of large trees, in the same manner with those throughout the South Seas, but with surprising neatness. They ornament them with shells, and paint them red. It has already been mentioned, that the natives painted the schooner for the English; and as their method is peculiar, it may be proper to mention it. They take the red ochre and crumble it down among water, then soak it for some time over a slow fire. When it is brought to the necessary consistence, they rub it on the wood while warm. When dry, they varnish it with cocoa-nut oil, which gives it a polish that no water can efface. Their canoes are of different sizes, but the largest will not carry more than thirty people: the common ones, from five to ten. They use sails made of matting, which are by no means capable to encounter a rough sea; they therefore keep as near the shore as possible.

The natives row with great ability, insomuch that the canoes, made purposely for swift sailing, seem scarcely to touch the water, moving with a velocity unknown to our boatmen. Their dexterity in handling the oars is admirable; and, on occasions of ceremony, they flourish their paddles with great address, and in exact order. Their domestic implements are few and very simple. They are the evident result of necessity and are well calculated to answer the ends intended, without much ornament. Their little baskets, which they always carry about with them, are among their neatest pieces of workmanship. In them they carry their nuts, knife, string, and any other little article they may need for the work about which they are employed. They are also hung up around the walls of their houses for ornament and use. Their knives are made of shells, which they sharpen to such an edge, as fully answers all common purposes.

Their fishing-hooks are ingeniously formed of tortoise-shell, and their combs of the orange-tree. The mats on which they sleep, and those used to cover them when asleep, are formed of the husks of cocoa-nuts. They have a number of vessels made of earthen ware, for purposes of cookery. These stand the heat exceedingly well, if heated by degrees, of which the natives are very careful. Their strings, cords, and fishing-nets are all manufactured from the husks of cocoa-nuts. Their drinking cups are made of cocoa-shells, which they polish with great art. But the hatchets are the most uncommon weapons. The blade is made of a very strong species of cockle, which they call *Kima Cockle*, ground to a sharp edge. They were very anxious, however, for iron to substitute

in its room. Some of their hatchets were made with moveable heads, with which they could make them answer the principal purposes of an adze; so that though their tools were not remarkable for beauty or convenience, yet the English were often surprised with what facility they cut down the largest trees with them.

Their articles for ornament were far from numerous. The king had a very fine tureen, somewhat of the shape of a bird, and finely ornamented with various devices, very neatly cut out. This he presented to Captain Wilson. It held about thirty-six English quarts. The tortoise-shell they wrought into various little dishes, spoons, trays, and other vessels. The shell they have in these islands is of a very beautiful kind; but the English could never get an opportunity of observing the manner in which they worked it.

The torches they use have been frequently mentioned. They seemed to be formed of a rosin mixed with small pieces of a particular species of wood, which burns well: they have a clear light, and an agreeable smell.

Having now recapitulated such observations as the English had an opportunity to make during their short residence among these islanders, it may not be improper to glance a little at such parts of their conduct as seem to disagree with that marked humanity and urbanity which have been uniformly represented as distinguishing characteristics in the natives of Pelew. Several instances have been given of their noble principles not being confined to their intercourse with one another, but of their behaving to their enemies with a degree of gene-

rosity totally unknown among the bulk of mankind. Where is the nation that scorns to attack their enemy unseen, or by night? What people send embassies to herald their approach? But it may be asked, how can it be accounted for, that these friends of humanity should so wantonly take away the lives of their fellow-creatures when made captive in battle? An answer to this has already been attempted. The practice has but very lately taken place, and is the result of what they imagine to be *political necessity*. They consider a captive as a most dangerous person among them. They have no prisons nor public works to employ them in, so that had they not put them to death, the worst consequences might have followed.

The reader may also have noticed, in the course of the narration, an inclination to pilfer, perhaps inconsistent with that character of integrity we have just assigned to them. The circumstances, however, should be carefully weighed. A nail or bit of old iron was to them a precious jewel; and the commonalty had almost no opportunity of getting any, except in the way of picking them up when they accidentally fell in their way. They very seldom took any thing of consequence, except when the temptation was so peculiarly singular, that even the rigidly virtuous would easily find an excuse for it. It may well be said, "that they must have been more than men, had they acted less like men. Virtuous in the extreme that country would be deemed, where the conscience of no individual, in the cool moments of reflection, could upbraid him with a heavier transgression, than applying to his own use a bit of iron that lay before him.

CHAPTER VII.

PASSAGE TO MACAO—PROCEED TO CANTON AND EMBARK FOR ENGLAND—ANECDOTES OF LEE BOO—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

THE English were now once more on the way to all they held dear; and having wiped away the tear of a friendly farewell, proceeded on their voyage with cheerfulness.

The principal person that will figure in the few following pages, is Prince Lee Boo, a youth of the most remarkable abilities, and in whose history every reader must feel interested. He had thrown himself freely under the protection of strangers, deserting his native country, his friends, his all, trusting to the honour of a handful of men, of whose existence he had but a few weeks before been ignorant. For a few days he suffered excessively from sea-sickness, in which situation he could eat nothing, and his spirits were quite sunk; this however wore off, and he appeared to be easy and contented. Captain Wilson instructed him as to decency in his appearance, and desired he would dress as the English did; he did so, but soon threw off the coat and jacket as insupportably cumbersome; but still retained the trowsers, as decency required, and would never afterwards part with them; indeed, as they began gradually to advance into a

colder climate, he soon resumed the coat and jacket also. His notions of delicacy gradually increased, so that he would not so much as change any part of his dress unless when by himself. He continued to wash himself several times a day, and kept his clothes and every thing about his person very clean.

Sunday the 16th, they kept as a sort of thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, which they acknowledged with hearts full of gratitude. They now also discovered a small leak in the vessel, which they found it impossible wholly to stop, and therefore employed two men constantly at the pump. Lee Boo was greatly discouraged at losing sight of land, a circumstance which had not previously occurred to him. From the 18th to the 25th of November they had variable and disagreeable weather, heavy squalls, accompanied with thunder and lightning. On the 25th they came in sight of the Bashee Islands, to the great joy of Lee Boo, who was happy once more to obtain at least a distant sight of terra firma. On the 26th they saw the island of Formosa, bearing N. E.; the 27th and 28th, the weather being favourable, they fell in with several Chinese fishing vessels and small craft, and on the 29th anchored near the high land called Asses Ears. Having here engaged a pilot to conduct them to Macao, they arrived there next day. Lee Boo was greatly astonished at the size of the Portuguese ships in the Typa, calling out, *clow, clow, muc clow!* that is, large, large, very large! The Governor paid Captain Wilson and his crew all manner of attention, and sent plenty of provisions of all kinds to the men on board the Oroolong, informing them

at the same time, that peace was now reestablished in Europe. Captain Wilson, Lee Boo, and the officers, got lodgings appointed them on shore, except Mr Benger, who took the command on board. An express was immediately forwarded to the Company's *supra-cargoes* at Canton, informing him of their arrival and situation.

Mr M'Intyre, an old acquaintance of Captain Wilson's, paid them uncommon attention, and insisted on their lodging in his house. He had a Portuguese gentleman in company with him, who invited them to his house on their way to Mr M'Intyre's, and that principally on Lee Boo's account, with whom he was greatly taken, and wished to introduce him to his family. His house was therefore the first into which Lee Boo entered, and his surprise on entering it cannot be easily described. The rooms, the furniture and ornaments, all severally crowded so many new objects on his mind at once, that he was perfectly lost in amazement. It was remarkable, however, that amidst all his confusion, his behaviour was in the greatest degree easy and polite; and as he observed that he occasioned the same surprise in others that they did in him, he very politely permitted them to examine his hands, described the tatooing, and appeared pleased with the attention paid him. On their way to Mr M'Intyre's, Lee Boo displayed his native benevolence very remarkably. Observing the poor Tartar women, with their children tied to their backs, begging, he distributed all the oranges and other things he had about him among them.

When they reached Mr M'Intyre's it was late,

so that the table was covered for supper, and the room elegantly illuminated. A new scene here burst upon him; he was all eye, all admiration. Amongst the things that solicited his notice, was a large mirror at the upper end of the hall, which reflected almost his whole person. Here Lee Boo stood in perfect amazement at seeing himself. He laughed—he drew back, and returned to look again, quite absorbed in wonder. He made an effort to look behind, as if conceiving somebody was there, but found the glass fixed close to the wall. Mr M'Intyre observing the idea that had crossed him, ordered a small glass to be brought into the room, wherein having viewed his face, he looked behind to discover the person who looked at him, totally unable to make out how all this was produced. Indeed the mirror had a surprising effect on more than Lee Boo. The Englishmen had seen every one his neighbour's face during all their distress, but nobody had seen his own. The hollow edged, long visaged appearance they now presented, compared to what they formerly recollected, cast rather a melancholy impression upon their minds. Next day Lee Boo spent mostly in examining Mr M'Intyre's house, in which he found abundance of new objects. The upright walls and flat ceilings still continued to be the objects of his surprise. He was perpetually feeling the first, as if he thought he could thereby gain an idea of their construction; but the latter seeming self-supported, was beyond what his mind could at that time comprehend. The other gentlemen, in the mean time, went about purchasing such little commodities as they stood in need of, and every one brought in some little trinket with him for Lee

Boo. Among the rest was a string of large glass beads, which almost distracted the Prince with surprise and joy. He hugged them with transport, and conceived himself possessed of greater treasures than all the Pelew islands could afford. He ran to Captain Wilson enraptured with his newly acquired property, and begged that a small Chinese vessel might be instantly hired to transport it to Pelew, and desired his father might be informed what a fine country the *Englees* had carried him to, from whence he would soon send him other presents. At the same time he added, that if the persons Captain Wilson should employ, faithfully and expeditiously executed their trust, he would reward them with two glass beads.——Happy state of innocence, where the utmost ambition can be so easily satisfied!

While at Macao, Lee Boo had frequent opportunities of seeing people of different nations, but soon gave a decided preference to the English, especially the ladies. It has been already mentioned that there are no quadrupeds at the Pelew islands, and that the Newfoundland dog left there was the first of the species they had seen. They called him *sailor*, which name Lee Boo now applied to every quadruped he saw. Horses were his great favourites; he called them *clow sailor* or great sailor. Seeing a man pass on horseback, he was wonderfully astonished, and called on every one to come and look at the sight. He would afterwards go to the stable and stroke their mane and neck, and soon ventured to mount them. He intreated Captain Wilson to send a horse to his uncle Raa Kook.

In a few days Captain Wilson received letters

from Canton—the supra-cargoes desiring him to draw for what money he needed, and ordering the men to be supplied with every necessary in abundance. The kindness shown them on this occasion by all ranks at Macao and Canton, was spoken of by all the officers and men in the warmest terms. Captain Wilson and his company took shipping for Whampoa in the Walpole, Captain Churchill, leaving Mr Benger to take care of the Oroolong, and dispose of her. In a few days they arrived at Canton, having been kept in spirits all the way by Lee Boo, whose admiration at every new object, and sensible remarks at same time, surprised all who had an opportunity of conversing with him. The furniture, tables, chairs, lamps, and the upright bulk-heads, with the deck over head, were all surprising. After his eye had in silence run over these objects, he whispered to Captain Wilson that *clow ship* was *house*. He was greatly surprised at the various dishes of meat which he saw successively set before them, alleging that his father, though a king, was happy to serve himself with a few yams and cocoanuts. While here, the gentlemen had a great many different dainties, and servants attending them while they were eating. Observing a man drunk, he ran for the surgeon, thinking him very ill. On being told how the matter stood, he said he would not drink spirits, it was not drink fit for gentlemen, and would never after even taste them.

An instance of Lee Boo's strong attachment to those he knew, may be here mentioned, which will serve to point out this striking feature, not in his character only, but in all the natives of Pelew.

One day while sitting at a window which looked towards the sea, he observed a boat making towards shore, in which were Mr Benger and Mr M'Intyre; his joy was so great, that he did not take time to tell Captain Wilson or any other in the room the cause of his emotion, but, springing from his seat, flew to the shore in a twinkling. Immediately on their landing, he shook hands with them so heartily, and with such expressions of affection, as won their warmest regard. They had disposed of the schooner for seven hundred Spanish dollars, which was considered as a very good price.

Lee Boo became an universal favourite wherever he appeared. His agreeable, good-natured, pleasant behaviour, made him acceptable in every company. He one day very much surprised a company of gentlemen with his dexterity in throwing the dart. A party was formed to have a trial of skill in the factory hall. They hung up a gauze cage, and a bird painted in the middle. They stood at a good distance, and with much difficulty hit even the cage. When Lee Boo's turn came, he took up his spear very carelessly, and with the greatest ease, struck the little bird through the head. He had one day an opportunity of seeing a sugar dish of blue glass, which greatly delighted him. The gentleman in whose house it was made him a present of two jars of the same colour, which threw him into such a transport of joy, he could hardly contain himself. *Oh! were it possible, he exclaimed, that my friends at Pelew could see them!*

As the time was now near when the Company's ships would sail for England, Captain Wilson laid

before his people an account of the produce from the Oroolong, and other articles which had been sold; and giving to every one an equitable share, he addressed the whole company nearly as follows:—"Gentlemen, the moment being now arrived when every one may to advantage follow his own inclination, I cannot part with you, without testifying my approbation at the spirited, the judicious, and the manly conduct you have preserved, amidst our trying difficulties; and be assured, that on my arrival in England, I will represent you to the Company as entitled to their particular regard, and I make no doubt but they will reward your toils." If mutual adversity will reconcile the most inveterate enemies, surely the sufferings of friends must cement a more forcible affection; and every one now present appeared to feel the weight of the remark, for a tender concern was manifest in every countenance. The conduct of Mr Wilson had been so mild and prudent, and his example so animating, that they still wished him for their commander; but it was not now a time for choice; necessity and reason pointed out their course. Lee Boo and the captain came home in the Morse, and the surgeon in the Lascelles, while others embarked in different ships.

Having thus traced a faithful picture of the adventures of our countrymen in their shipwreck on the Pelew Islands, and the observations made there, we shall close the work with such particulars as could be collected respecting Lee Boo's visit to England. The reader, who has been interested by seeing this amiable prince at Macao and Canton, in the character of a new-born creature just entering a world to which he was quite a stranger, will

doubtless be gratified in following him through other scenes, which, from their familiarity, have ceased to excite in us emotions of wonder and astonishment, but which to him were totally new, and totally beyond his conceptions. We shall adhere chiefly to the words of Mr Keate, who, drawing this part of his narrative from personal observation, has given it with a liveliness which would be diminished by any abridgment or alteration.

Lee Boo was so courteous and pleasant during the whole voyage, that every one was ready to render him any service in their power. He was extremely desirous of knowing the name and country of every ship he met at sea, and would repeat what he was told over and over till he had fixed it well in his memory; and, as each inquiry was gratified, he made a knot on his line; but these knots having greatly multiplied, he was obliged to repeat them over every day to refresh his memory, and often to recur to Captain Wilson, or others, when he had forgot what any particular knot referred to. The officers in the Morse, with whom only he associated, when they saw him thus busied with his line, used to say he was reading his journal. He frequently asked after all the people of the Oroolong, who had gone aboard different ships at China, particularly after the captain's son and Mr Sharp.

He had not been long on the voyage before he solicited Captain Wilson to get him a book, and point out to him the letters, that he might, when he knew them, be instructed in reading. All convenient opportunities were allotted to gratify this wish of his young pupil, who discovered great

readiness in comprehending every information given him.

On arriving at St Helena, he was much struck with the soldiers and cannon on the fortifications; and the coming in soon after of four English men of war, afforded him a sight highly delighting, particularly those which had two tier of guns. It was explained to him that these kind of ships were intended only for fighting, and that the other vessels which he then saw in the Bay were destined for commerce, to transport and exchange from one country to another its produce and manufactures. Captain Buller, the commander of his Majesty's ship the Chaser, had the goodness to take him on board his own, and another ship, to let him see the men exercised at the great guns and small arms, which exceedingly impressed his imagination.

On being carried to see a school, he expressed a wish that he could learn as the boys did, feeling his own deficiency in knowledge.

He desired to ride on horseback into the country, which he was permitted to do. He sat well, and galloped, showed no fear of falling, and appeared highly pleased both with the novelty and pleasure of the exercise.

Visiting the Company's garden, he noticed some shady walks formed with bamboos arching overhead on lattice-work. He was struck with the refreshing coolness they afforded, and observed, that his own countrymen were ignorant of the advantages they might enjoy, saying, that on this island they had but little wood, yet applied it to a good purpose; that at Pelew they had great abundance, and knew not how to use it. He added, that when he went back, he would speak to the

king, tell him how defective they were, and have men employed to make such bowers as he had seen.

Such were the dawnings of a mind that felt its own darkness, and had the good sense to catch at every ray of light that might lead it forward to information and improvement!

Before the Morse quitted Saint Helena, the Lascelles arrived, by which occurrence Lee Boo had an interview with his first friend, Mr Sharp. He caught a sight of him from a window, and ran out with the utmost impatience to take him by the hand, happy, after so long a separation, to meet him again, and evincing, by his ardour, the grateful sentiments he retained of the attention that gentleman had shown him.

As he drew near the British Channel, the number of vessels that he observed pursuing their different courses, increased so much, that he was obliged to give up the keeping of his journal, but was still very inquisitive to know whither they were sailing. When the Morse got to the Isle of Wight, Captain Wilson, his brother, the Prince, with several other passengers, quitted her, and coming in a boat between the Needles, arrived safe at Portsmouth the fourteenth of July 1784. On landing, the number and size of the men of war then in harbour, the variety of houses, and the ramparts, were all objects of attraction. He seemed so totally absorbed in silent surprise, that he had no leisure to ask any questions. The officer of the Morse charged with the despatches setting off immediately for London, Captain Wilson, impatient to see his family, accompanied him, leaving his

young traveller under the care of his brother, to follow him by a coach, which was to set off in the evening. As soon as he reached town, he was conveyed to the captain's house at Rotherhithe, where he was not a little happy to rejoin his adopted father, and introduced to his family.

Though part of his journey had passed during the night, yet, with returning day, his eyes had full employment on every side; and when he had got to what was now to be, for some time, his destined home, he arrived in all the natural glow of youthful spirits. Whatever he had observed in silence, was now eagerly disclosed. He described all the circumstances of his journey; said it was very pleasant—that he had been put into a little house, which was run away with by horses—that he slept, but still was going on; and, whilst he went one way, the fields, houses, and trees, all went another—every thing, from the quickness of travelling, appearing to him to be in motion.

At the hour of rest he was shown by Mr M. Wilson up to his chamber, where, for the first time, he saw a four-post bed. He could scarce conceive what it meant—he jumped in, and jumped out again; felt and pulled aside the curtains; got into bed, and then got out a second time, to admire its exterior form. At length, having become acquainted with its use and convenience, he laid himself down to sleep, saying, *that in England there was a house for every thing.*

It was not more than a week after his arrival, when Mr Keate was invited, by his friend Mr Rashleigh, to dinner, where Captain Wilson and his young charge were expected. Lee Boo then possessed but very little English, yet, between

words and action, made himself tolerably understood, and seemed to comprehend the greater part of what was said to him, especially, having the captain by him to explain whatever he did not clearly comprehend. He was drest as an Englishman, excepting that he wore his hair in the fashion of his own country; appeared to be between nineteen and twenty years of age, was of a middling stature, and had a countenance so strongly marked with sensibility and good humour, that it instantly prejudiced every one in his favour; and this countenance was enlivened by eyes so quick and intelligent, that they might really be said to announce his thoughts and conceptions without the aid of language.

Though the accounts previously received of this *new man* (as he was called at Macao) had greatly raised Mr Keate's expectations, yet after being a little time in his company, he was perfectly astonished at the ease and gentleness of his manners. He was lively and pleasant, and had a politeness without form or restraint, which appeared to be the result of natural good-breeding. Many questions were of course put to Captain Wilson by the company, concerning this personage, and the country he had brought him from, which no European had ever visited before. He obligingly entered on many particular circumstances which were highly interesting, spoke of the battles in which his people had assisted the king of Pelew, and of the peculiar manner the natives had of tying up their hair when going to war; Lee Boo, who fully understood what his friend was explaining, very obligingly, and unasked, untied his own, and threw it into the form Captain Wil-

son had been describing. There was in all his deportment such affability and propriety of behaviour, that when he took leave of the company, there was hardly any one present who did not feel a satisfaction in having had an interview with him.

Mr Keate went to Rotherhithe, a few days after, to see Captain Wilson. Lee Boo, who was reading at a window, recollected him instantly, and flew with eagerness to the door to meet him. In this visit Mr Keate had a good deal of conversation with him, and they mutually managed to be pretty well understood by each other. He seemed to be pleased with every thing about him; said, *All fine country, fine street, fine coach, and house upon house to sky*, putting alternately one hand above another, by which it appeared that (their own habitations being all on the ground) every separate story of our buildings was at that time considered by him as a distinct house.

He was introduced to several of the Directors of the India Company, taken to visit many of the Captain's friends, and gradually shown most of the public buildings in the different quarters of the town; but his prudent conductor had the caution to avoid taking him to any places of public entertainment, lest he might accidentally, in those heated resorts, catch the small-pox, a disease which he intended to inoculate the young Prince with, as soon as he had acquired enough of our language to be reasoned into the necessity of submitting to the operation; judging, and surely not without good reason, that the giving him so offensive and troublesome a distemper, without first explaining its nature, and preparing his mind to yield to it,

might weaken that unbounded confidence which this youth placed in his adopted father.

After he had been a while settled, and a little habituated to the manners of this country, he was sent every day to an academy at Rotherhithe, to be instructed in reading and writing, which he was himself eager to attain, and most assiduous in learning. His whole deportment, whilst there, was so engaging, that it not only gained him the esteem of the gentleman under whose tuition he was placed, but also the affection of his young companions. In the hours of recess, when he returned to the captain's house, he amused the whole family by his vivacity, noticing every particularity he saw in any of his school-fellows, with great good-humour mimicking their different manners, sometimes saying he would have a school of his own when he returned to Pelew, and should be thought very wise when he taught the great people their letters.

He always addressed Mr Wilson by the appellation of Captain; but never would call Mrs Wilson (to whom he behaved with the warmest affection) by any other name than that of *mother*, looking on that as a mark of the greatest respect. Being often told he should say Mrs Wilson, his constant reply was, *No, no—mother, mother.*

Captain Wilson, when invited to dine with his particular friends, was generally accompanied by Lee Boo; on which occasions there was as much ease and politeness in his behaviour, as if he had been always habituated to good company; he adapted himself very readily to whatever he saw were the customs of the country, and fully con-

firmed the opinion, that *natural* good manners are the *natural* result of *natural* good sense.

Wherever this young man went, nothing escaped his observation. He had an ardent desire of information, and thankfully received it, always expressing a wish to know by what means effects which he noticed were produced. One day in company, a young lady sat down to the harpsichord, to see how he was affected with music. He appeared greatly surprised that the instrument could throw out so much sound. It was opened, to let him see its interior construction. He pored over it with great attention, watching how the jacks were moved, and seemed far more disposed to puzzle out the means which produced the sounds, than to attend to the music that was playing. He was afterwards requested to give a Pelew song. He did not wait for those repeated entreaties which singers usually require, but obligingly began one as soon as asked. The tones, however, were so harsh and discordant, and his breast seemed to labour with so much exertion, that his whole countenance was changed by it, and every one's ears stunned with the horrid notes. From this sample of Pelew singing, it is not to be wondered that a chorus of such performers had the effect (as hath been related) of making our countrymen at Oroolong fly to their arms; it might, in truth, have alarmed a whole garrison; though, when he had been some time here, he readily caught two or three English songs, in which his voice appeared by no means inharmonious.

Lee Boo's temper was very mild and compassionate, discovering, in various instances, that he had brought from his father's territories that spirit

of philanthropy which we have seen reigned there; yet he at all times governed it by discretion and judgment. If he saw the *young* asking relief, he would rebuke them with what little English he was master of, telling them, it was a shame to beg when they were able to work; but the entreaties of *old age* he could never withstand, saying, *must give poor old man—old man no able to work.*

I am perfectly convinced that Captain Wilson, from the confidence which the king had reposed in him, would have held himself inviolably bound to protect and serve this young creature to the utmost extent of his abilities; but, independent of what he felt was due to the noble character of Abba Thulle, there was so much gentleness, and so much gratitude in Lee Boo, that not only the captain, but every part of his family, viewed him with the warmest sentiments of disinterested affection. Mr H. Wilson, the captain's son, being a youth of a very amiable character, and a few years younger than Lee Boo, they had, during their voyage to, and stay in China, become mutually attached to each other, and meeting again under the father's roof, their friendship was still more cemented. The young Prince looked on him as a brother, and, in his leisure hours from the academy, was happy to find in him a companion to converse with, to exercise the throwing of the spear, or partake in any innocent recreation.

Boyam, the Malay, whom the king had sent to attend on his son, proving an unprincipled, dishonest fellow, Lee Boo was so disgusted with his conduct, that he entreated Captain Wilson to send him back to Sumatra (which he had learned was the Malay's own country); and Tom Rose, a man

of tried fidelity, and who had picked up a great deal of the Pelew language, being at this time in England, was engaged to supply his place; an exchange which gave great satisfaction to all parties.

Captain Wilson was now and then incommoded with severe headachs, which were sometimes relieved by lying down on the bed. On these occasions, the feelings of Lee Boo were ever alarmed. He appeared always unhappy, would creep up softly to his protector's chamber, and sit silent by his bedside for a long time together, without moving, peeping gently from time to time between the curtains, to see if he slept, or lay easy.

As the anecdotes of this singular youth are but scanty, being all unfortunately limited to a very short period, I would unwillingly, in this place, withhold one, where his own heart described itself. The captain, having been all the morning in London, after dinner asked his son if he had been at some place he had, before he went to town, directed him to call at, with a particular message? The fact was, the two young friends had been amusing themselves with throwing the spear, and the business had been totally forgotten. Captain Wilson was hurt at the neglect, and told his son it was very idle and careless. This being spoken in an impatient tone of voice, which Lee Boo conceived was a mark of anger in the father, he slipt unobserved out of the parlour. The matter was instantly forgotten, and something else talked of, when Lee Boo being missed, Harry Wilson was sent to look after him, and finding him in a back room quite dejected, desired him to return to the family. Lee Boo took his young

friend by the hand, and on entering the parlour went up to the father, and laying hold of his hand joined it with that of his son, and pressing them together, dropped over both those tears of sensibility, which his affectionate heart could not on the occasion suppress.

One day Mr Keate was asking how he was affected by painting. On mentioning the subject, Dr Carmichael Smyth, who had been requested to meet this stranger, wished Mr Keate to bring his own miniature, that the company might thereby observe if it struck him. He took it in his hand, and instantly called out, *Misser* Keate—*very nice, very good.* The captain then asking him, if he understood what it signified? he replied, Lee Boo *understand well—that Misser* Keate *die—this Misser* Keate *live.*—A treatise on the utility and intent of portrait-painting, could not have better defined the art than this little sentence.

Mrs Wilson desiring Lee Boo, who was on the opposite side of the table, to send her some cherries, perceiving that he was going to take them up with his fingers, jocosely noticed it to him, he instantly resorted to a spoon; but, sensible that he had discovered a little unpoliteness, his countenance was in a moment suffused with a blush, that visibly forced itself through his dark complexion.

A lady, who was of the party, being incommoded by the violent heat of the day, was nearly fainting, and obliged to leave the room. This amiable youth seemed much distressed at the accident, and seeing her appear again when we were summoned to tea, his inquiries, and particular at-

tention to her, as strongly marked his tenderness, as it did his good breeding.

He was fond of riding in a coach beyond any other conveyance, because, he said, people could be carried where they wanted to go, and at the same time sit and converse together. He seemed particularly pleased at going to church, and, though he could not comprehend the service, yet he perfectly understood the intent of it, and always behaved there with remarkable propriety and attention.

Captain Wilson kept him from going abroad, except to visit friends, for the reason already assigned, as also from another prudential consideration, that his mind might be tranquil, and not too much drawn off from the great object in view, the attaining the language, which would enable him to comprehend fully every useful information, and to enjoy better whatever he should then be shown. The river, the shipping, and the bridges he was forcibly struck with; and he was several times taken to see the guards exercise and march in St James's Park, a sight which gratified him much, every thing that was military greatly engaging his attention. To a young creature, situated as he was, and whose eye and mind were ever in quest of information, circumstances perpetually occurred, that, *at the time*, interested those who were about him, but which, *at present*, it would be trespassing too much on the reader to mention.

Mr Keate went to see him the morning after Lunardi's first ascent in the balloon, expecting to find him in the greatest degree astonished at an exhibition which had excited so much curiosity even amongst ourselves; yet it did not appear to

have engaged him in the least. He said, *he thought it a very foolish thing to ride in the air like a bird, when a man could travel so much more pleasantly on horseback, or in a coach.* He was either not aware of the difficulty or hazard of the enterprise, or it is not improbable that a man flying up through the clouds, suspended at a balloon, might have been ranked by him as a common occurrence, in a country which was perpetually spreading before him so many subjects of surprise.

Whenever he had opportunities of seeing gardens, he was an attentive observer of the plants and fruit-trees; would ask many questions about them, and say, when he returned home he would take seeds of such as would live and flourish in Pelew; talked frequently of the things he should then persuade the king to alter, or adopt; and appeared, in viewing most objects, to consider how far they might be rendered useful to his own country.

He was now proceeding with hasty strides in gaining the English language, and advancing so rapidly with his pen, that he would probably in a short time have written a very fine hand, when he was overtaken with that very disease, which with so much caution had been guarded against. On the 16th of December he felt himself much indisposed, and in a day or two after an eruption appeared all over his body. Captain Wilson went to Dr Carmichael Smyth to request he would see him, apprehending that it might be the small-pox.

Dr Smyth, with whose professional abilities are united every accomplishment of the scholar and the gentleman, went immediately to Rotherhithe. When he descended from Lee Boo's chamber, he

told the family that there was not a doubt with respect to the disease, and was sorry to add (what he thought it right to prepare them for) that the appearances were such as almost totally precluded the hope of a favourable termination; but that he had ordered whatever the present moment required. Captain Wilson earnestly solicited the continuance, if possible, of his visits, and was assured, that, however inconvenient the distance, he would daily attend the issue of the distemper.

On the second day, Mr Sharp, a gentleman often mentioned in the foregoing narrative, hearing of his young friend's illness, came to assist Captain Wilson, nor ever stirred from the house, till poor Lee Boo had yielded to his fate.

The captain, having never had the small-pox himself, was now precluded going into Lee Boo's room, who, informed of the cause, acquiesced in being deprived of seeing him, still continuing to be full of inquiries after his health, fearing he might catch the disease; but though Captain Wilson complied with the request of his family in not going into the chamber, yet he never absented himself from the house; and Mr Sharp constantly took care that every direction was duly attended to. Lee Boo bore his illness with great firmness of mind, never refusing to take any thing that was ordered for him, when told that Dr Smyth (to whose opinion he paid the greatest deference) desired it. Mrs Wilson happening to have some indisposition at this time, which confined her to her bed, Lee Boo, on hearing of it, became impatient, saying, *What, Mother ill!* Lee Boo *get up to see her*; which he did, and would go to her apartment, to be satisfied how she really was.

On the Thursday before his death, walking across the room, he looked at himself in the glass (his face being then much swelled and disfigured). He shook his head, and turned away, as if disgusted at his own appearance, and told Mr Sharp, that *his father and mother much grieve, for they knew he was very sick.* This he repeated several times. At night, growing worse, he appeared to think himself in danger. He took Mr Sharp by the hand, and, fixing his eyes steadfastly on him, with earnestness said, *Good friend, when you go to Pelew, tell Abba Thulle that Lee Boo take much drink to make small-pox go away, but he die;—that the Captain and Mother* (meaning Mrs Wilson) *very kind—all English very good men—was much sorry he could not speak to the king the number of fine things the English had got.* Then he reckoned what had been given him as presents, which he wished Mr Sharp would distribute, when he went among the chiefs; and requested that very particular care might be taken of the blue glass barrels on pedestals, which he directed should be given to the king.

Poor Tom Rose, who stood at the foot of his young master's bed, was shedding tears at hearing all this; which Lee Boo observing, rebuked him for his weakness, asking, *Why he should be crying so because Lee Boo die?*

Whatever he felt, his spirit was above complaining; and Mrs Wilson's chamber being adjoining to his own, he often called out to inquire if she was better, always adding, lest she might suffer any disquietude on his account, *Lee Boo do well, Mother.* The small-pox, which had been out eight or nine

days, not rising, he began to feel himself sink, and told Mr Sharp *he was going away.* His mind, however, remained perfectly clear and calm to the last, though what he suffered in the latter part of his existence was severe indeed. The strength of his constitution struggled hard and long against the virulence of his distemper, till exhausted nature yielded in the contest.

Dr Smyth had the goodness, every day on his return from Rotherhithe, to inform me of the state of his patient, but never gave me any hope of his recovery. Being under an engagement with my family to pass a week at the house of my friend Mr Brooke Watson, at Sheen, (who was equally anxious and alarmed as ourselves for this amiable young man), I requested the Doctor would have the goodness to continue to me his information. The second day after I left town, I received the intelligence of his death, which deeply affected us all. I cannot give an account of this melancholy event so well as by transcribing Dr Smyth's letter, by which it was conveyed to me.

Monday, Dec. 27, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is an unpleasant task for me to be the herald of bad news; yet, according to my promise, I must inform you of the fate of poor Lee Boo, who died this morning without a groan, the vigour of his mind and body resisting to the very last. Yesterday, the secondary fever coming on, he was seized with a shivering fit, succeeded by headach, violent palpitation of the heart, anxiety, and difficult breathing. He again used the warm bath, which, as formerly, afforded him a temporary relief. He

had had a blister put on his back, which was as ineffectual as those applied to his legs. He expressed all his feelings to me, in the most forcible and pathetic manner, put my hand upon his heart, leant his head on my arm, and explained his uneasiness in breathing; but when I was gone he complained no more, showing that he complained with a view to be relieved, not to be pitied. In short, living or dying, he has given me a lesson which I shall never forget; and surely, for patience and fortitude, he was an example worthy the imitation of a *Stoic!*—I did not see Captain Wilson when I called this morning, but the maid-servant was in tears, and every person in the family wore the face of grief. Poor Lee Boo's affectionate temper made every one look upon him as a brother or a child. Compliments to the ladies, and to Mr Watson, who, I make no doubt, will all join in regretting the untimely end of our poor Prince. From you, my friend, something more will be expected; and, though you cannot bring him back to life, you are called upon (particularly considering his great attachment to you) not to let the memory of so much virtue pass away unrecorded. But I am interrupted in these melancholy reflections, and have only time to assure you of (what will never pass away but with myself) the sincere friendship of your affectionate, &c.

"JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH.

Captain Wilson notified to the India House the unfortunate death of this young man; and received orders to conduct every thing with proper decency respecting his funeral. He was interred in Rotherhithe church-yard, the captain and his bro-

ther attending. All the young people of the Academy joined in this testimony of regard; and the concourse of people at the church was so great, that it appeared as if the whole parish had assembled to join in seeing the last ceremonies paid to one who was so much beloved by all who had known him in it.

The India Company, soon after, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave, with the following inscription.

To the Memory
OF PRINCE LEE BOO,
A native of the Pelew or Palos Islands,
and Son to Abba Thulle, Rupack or King
of the Island Coorooraa;
who departed this life on the 27th of December
1784,
aged 20 years;
This Stone is inscribed,
by the Honourable United East India Company,
as a testimony of esteem
for the humane and kind treatment afforded
by his Father to the Crew of their Ship
the Antelope, Captain Wilson,
which was wrecked off that Island
in the night of the 9th of August 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop!—let Nature claim a tear—
A Prince of *mine*, Lee Boo, lies buried here.

Among the little property which he left behind, beside what he had particularly requested Mr Sharp to convey to his father and friends, there were found, after his death, the stones or seeds of most

of the fruits he had tasted in England, carefully and separately put up. And when one considers that his stay with us was but five months and twelve days, we find that, in the midst of the wide field of novelty that encompassed him, he had not been neglectful of that which, before his departure from Pelew, had been probably pointed out to him as a principal matter of attention.

From these trifling anecdotes of this amiable youth, cut off in the moment that this character began to blossom, what hopes might not have been entertained of the future fruit such a plant would have produced! He had both ardour and talents for improvement, and every gentle quality of the heart to make himself beloved; so that, as far as the dim sight of mortals is permitted to penetrate, he might, had his days been lengthened, have carried back to his own country—not the vices of a new world—but those solid advantages which his own good sense would have suggested, as likely to become most useful to it.

The evening before the Oroolong sailed, the king asked Captain Wilson, how long it might be before his return to Pelew? and, being told that it would probably be about thirty moons, or might chance to extend to six more, Abba Thulle drew from his basket a piece of line, and, after making thirty knots on it, at a little distance from each other, left a long space, and then adding six others, carefully put it by.

On this subject, observes Mr Keate, the reader's imagination will figure the anxious parent, resorting to this cherished remembrancer, and with joy untying the earlier records of each elapsing period;

—as he sees him advancing on his line, he will conceive the joy redoubled;—and, when nearly approaching to the thirtieth knot, almost accusing the planet of the night for passing so tardily away.

When verging towards the termination of his *latest* reckoning, he will then picture his mind glowing with parental affection, occasionally alarmed by doubt—yet still buoyed up by hope;—he will fancy him pacing inquisitively the sea-shore, and often commanding his people to ascend every rocky height, and glance their eyes along the level line of the horizon which bounds the surrounding ocean, to see if haply it might not in some part be broken by the distant appearance of a returning sail.

Lastly, he will view the good Abba Thulle, wearied out by that expectation, which so many returning moons, since his reckoning ceased, have by this time taught him he had nourished in vain. But the reader will bring him back to his remembrance, as armed with that unshaken fortitude that was equal to the trials of varying life. He will not in him, as in less manly spirits, see the passions rushing into opposite extremes—*hope* turned to *despair*—*affection* converted to *hatred*. No—after some allowance for their *natural* fermentation, he will suppose them all placidly subsiding into the *calm* of resignation!

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSION SENT TO THE PELEW ISLANDS UNDER CAPTAIN M'CLUER — RECEPTION — EVENTS SINCE THE DEPARTURE OF THE ENGLISH — VARIOUS PROCEEDINGS — NEW EXPEDITION TO ARTINGALL — DEATH OF ABBA THULLE — M'CLUER REMAINS — HIS ADVENTURES — SUBSEQUENT ACCOUNTS FROM THE ISLANDS.

The East India Company, deeply impressed with the affecting result of Lee Boo's visit to England, were at once anxious to pay every respect to his memory, and to cultivate continued friendship with the sovereign and people of Pelew. Under these feelings, they laudably resolved upon despatching a little expedition from Bombay, to acquaint the unfortunate father of the death of his son, and assure him of the regret which had been felt in England, and of the kindness with which Lee Boo had there been received and treated. This painful mission was intrusted to Captain John M'Cluer, under whose command were placed the Endeavour and Panther, and who was accompanied by Messrs Wedgeborough and White, who had formed part of the shipwrecked crew, and were well acquainted in the islands.

On the 10th October 1790, the two vessels rendezvoused at Bencoolen, and, on the 31st of that month, set sail on their destination. Their voyage

along the south coast of Java, being made while the monsoon was shifting from S.W. to N.E., was accompanied with tempests, particularly of thunder and lightning, that were dreadful beyond expression. The people on deck were often blind for several minutes after the flashes. One peal broke directly over the ship, the lightning ran down the conductor in a stream of fire, and the concussion of the vessel was so violent, as made them think they had run aground. However, "through the goodness and favour of God, the ships received no damage;" and, on the 9th December, they arrived safe, and found good anchorage in the straits between Lomback and Bally.

In the course of this run, the vessels, having occasion to lay in a stock of rice and cattle, held a good deal of intercourse with the natives. Their reception was kind and civil, accompanied with some jealousy, founded chiefly on the suspicion of their being Dutch; and occasion was taken to hint through the interpreter, that, whether English or Dutch, if their intentions were hostile, the Javanese were prepared for them. In fact, each of these islanders was armed with a crease, or dagger, stuck in his girdle. Every thing went on under the inspection of the bundermaster, or head of the village, who received them, seated on a mat spread upon the sand, and beneath whose auspices the business of exchange went on briskly. The natives preferred scarlet cloth to any thing else, provided it was not cut into little pieces; but this step having unfortunately been previously taken by the English, they thereupon chose dollars as the next alternative. It was only for these two articles that they would sell their rice, for which it appears they

had a ready market at Timor and elsewhere; but cattle, fowls, and fruits, were got for brass buttons, handkerchiefs, and toys.

After clearing the coast of New Guinea, the vessels made direct for the Pelew Islands, and, at midnight of the 21st January 1791, the most southerly of them came into view. The first canoes that became visible were pulling away in a different direction, notwithstanding the signals made to them; but soon after three canoes appeared alongside, and several of the natives recollected Lieutenant White. A rupack immediately leaped on board, calling out, *Whits!*—caught him in his arms, and gave him a most ardent and affectionate embrace. He seemed, indeed, almost distracted with joy, and called upon all his people to come and embrace their friend. Mr Wedgeborough, who had been sent out in a boat, was not at first personally recognised; but as soon as they heard him speak their language, and say that he was English, they expressed their joy by acclamations and gestures little short of madness. It was not long before they pointed to Oroolong, and inquired for Lee Boo. After some hesitation, they were acquainted with his fate, when they showed themselves composed and satisfied. On their own part, they evaded the questions respecting Madan Blanchard, who had been left behind by the crew of the Antelope.

It now appeared, that the canoes, which had been seen pushing away in a different direction, were sent to inform Abba Thulle of the appearance of a strange vessel upon the coast. Immediately after sunset, a number of canoes were seen making very fast towards them, of which one was much larger than the rest. The natives, from ob-

serving the manner in which the paddles were flourished, informed Mr Wedgeborough, that the king was in this canoe; and, at half past six, says Mr Wedgeborough, "I had the unspeakable pleasure of being embraced by the benevolent Abba Thulle." They proceeded in the canoe towards the Panther; and, on their way, Mr Wedgeborough acquainted the king with the death of Lee Boo. On receiving this intelligence, says the narrator, "his countenance, which before bore the most evident marks of joy, became composed and thoughtful; and, after remaining for some time silent, as if wishing to recollect himself, he exclaimed, "*Weel, weel, weel, a trecoy*" (in English, "good, good, very good)." After a pause, evidently taken in order to gain composure, he assured Mr Wedgeborough, that he had never entertained a doubt of the kindness of the English and of Captain Wilson, and of the tender care they would take of his son. He had counted on the line left with him as far as one hundred knots or moons; after which he concluded, that the ship built at Oroolong had not been large enough to carry them in safety to China, especially as they departed before the good moon had set in. He therefore buried the line, and gave up all hopes of ever again seeing either his son or Captain Wilson. His whole discourse was in a strain of mild and dignified composure, which might, on a superficial view, have been mistaken for insensibility; but besides the evident effort that it cost to maintain this tone, the long abandoned hope of again seeing Lee Boo, sufficiently accounted for the absence of any violent agitation.

When the king came on board, he was received by Captain M'Cluer, whom, it being now dark, he

tenderly embraced as Captain Wilson, felt his wrist for the piece of bone by which he had been constituted rupack, and appeared disappointed at not finding it. As soon as they entered the cabin, where there was a light, he recognised his mistake, and inquired with some alarm where Captain Wilson was, and why he had not come in person. He was answered, that the captain was alive and well, but being promoted to the command of a larger ship, had been unable at present to revisit Pelew. Captain M'Cluer then explained to him, that the East India Company had been anxious to testify their sense of his humanity and kindness to the shipwrecked crew of the Antelope. It was for this reason that he himself had been sent along with the king's old friends Messrs Wedgeborough and White, to apprise him of all the particulars relating to his son, and at the same time to present him with some articles peculiar to the countries from which the English came, and which, from their novelty, might be agreeable to him and his people. As a sequel to this discourse, the king was shown some of the cattle brought as presents, the view of which at once amazed and delighted him. He was asked, and even urged, to spend the night on board, but conceiving that if he did so, all his crew would seek the same indulgence, and there would be no end to the trouble they would cause, he persisted in going, and only asked Mr White to accompany him, and spend the night on shore.

Mr White and the king landed at a neighbouring island. Here a dinner was prepared for them of fish and yams. It had been already understood, that Madan Blanchard was dead, and Mr White

took occasion to inquire into the particulars. This proved to the king a very painful subject. Blanchard had been killed in a battle fought at Pelelew about five months before, when that island was invaded and conquered by the people of Cooroora. The battle, however, had been most sanguinary, and there had fallen, besides Blanchard, Raa Kook, the king's brother, Arra Kooker, and his favourite son, Qui Bill, with a number of the old warriors, who had been the particular friends of the crew of the Antelope. It was rather distressing to hear, that Blanchard had not by his conduct done any honour to himself or his country. Instead of giving a salutary example of European habits, he had early thrown off clothes, and tatooed himself like the natives, and had moreover led an idle rambling life, going from house to house, and from pye to pye till he had lost all respect in the eyes of the people. The king in fact found so little reason to confide in Blanchard, that he got from him the arms and ammunition which had been left by Captain Wilson, and took them under his own charge.

Next morning at ten o'clock, the king and Mr White came on board the Panther, with the view of piloting her to the royal residence. It was at first intended to go to Cooroora, but a nearer harbour Amallokalla was for the present preferred, on account of the abundance of water. They reached the anchoring place at five in the afternoon, and found themselves in a snug harbour. Next morning a grand assemblage of the natives took place in a pye, or house of public meeting, with a view to the presents being produced and displayed. The landing of these presents formed a busy occupation for the morning. The most bulky part was the

live stock, consisting of four young cows, two young bulls, ten ewes, four rams, eight she goats, five sows in pig, two boars, two geese, three ducks, one mallard, two hens, one cock, eight turtle doves, two parrots. The packages consisted of European arms and ammunition, with grindstones, shovels, saws, and other utensils and toys of various descriptions. When all these articles were opened and exhibited, the multitude seemed lost in utter amazement. They could not pronounce a word, but raised repeated *ha's* of astonishment. Abbe Thulle declared himself perfectly at a loss for utterance to express in any due terms his gratitude to the English rupacks. He lamented that they should have sent so many valuable presents to him, who had nothing to give in return, and whose country itself, if he could have transmitted it, would have been too little. The English earnestly assured him, that nothing of this kind had been in contemplation; and that these presents were sent from England solely in acknowledgment of his great humanity and kindness on the late occasion. The king modestly depreciated his own services, and regretted that Oroolong should be so distant as to put it out of his power to give more frequent testimonies of his friendship.

The English having determined to pitch their tent here for the present, the captain's marquee was brought on shore, and erected close to the royal residence. The natives crowded round it, felt it all over, and by frequent shakes of the head, general *ha's*, and significant looks at each other, testified their approbation, saying, "the English tackelbys could do any thing." The king ex-

amined with intelligence and attention every part of the ship; he was particularly struck with the working of the pumps. The exercise of the broad sword appeared to them less wonderful, as it in some measure resembled the Pelew mode of fighting, and the management of the spear. The use of the sword and target had a more mysterious aspect; but the grand object of amazement was, when one of the great guns, loaded with round and grape shot, was discharged. The sound, and the length to which the ball was carried, astonished them, seemingly a little beyond the bounds of pleasure; for when the English were about to make another discharge, the king requested them to stop. A small chest of joiners' tools was very much admired. Peculiar attention was also excited by a carved head of Alexander the Great, executed at Bombay.

On Monday the 31st, the king proposed that Captain M'Cluer and his officers should visit his capital at Cooroora; and directions were accordingly given to prepare the Panther's large cutter for this occasion. The canoes proceeded thither in orderly, and even grand procession. Those of the rupacks followed the king's in the order of their rank, and in a regular line abreast; while the smaller canoes, in similar arrangement, brought up the rear. As soon as they came in sight of the landing place at Cooroora, the conch shell was sounded, and the people in the foremost canoes struck up a song, of which the first line or stave was given out by the king. It was closed by a general chorus, with a flourish of paddles from all the canoes, the effect of which is described as very grand and pleasing. On landing, the English sa-

luted the king with three cheers, answered by the natives with an universal cry of *weel, weel.* The houses had not much either of beauty or regularity; but the *pyes* or large public buildings appeared really astonishing, considering the tools with which they had been fabricated. A new one had just been built, sixty feet long, and twenty broad; the floor composed of planks, completely level, and joined so close that a pin could not pass between them. The beams were seven feet above the floor, and so nicely fitted to the supporters as to appear only one piece of timber. The roof was thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, and the inside curiously ornamented with various flowers and figures. Each rupack has before his house a square piece of pavement, and attached to it a sort of tower like a pigeon-house, which might, it was apprehended, be a place of worship.

Next morning the military detachment began a series of evolutions, with which Abba Thulle was quite amazed and enraptured. Their march in quick or slow time, regulated by the fife and drum—their movements, performed by word of command, and their simultaneous firing in platoons—above all, the firing from the ships, made under directions from the shore, he did not know how given—these things caused him to view the power of the English as almost supernatural. Suddenly an idea struck him; he besought them to embark immediately and attack his enemies, the people of Artingall; but Captain M'Cluer very properly evaded this proposition, and represented that the mere dread inspired by the presence of such powerful allies, might enable him to conclude an advantageous treaty. In conclusion, the king

having heard Captain M'Cluer praise very much the soil and appearance of this island, declared it should be "Englishman's land." The offer being accepted, British colours were hoisted, and the foundation stone of a fort was laid, to be entitled "Fort Abercromby;" but no farther steps, we believe, were ever taken to follow up a cession which could never have been very important.

After this day, Captain M'Cluer gave up his intention of immediately quitting the islands, and determined only to return by himself to China, leaving Captain Proctor, of the Endeavour, to make a general survey of them, to instruct the natives in the culture, arts, and trades of England, and, if necessary, to protect them against their neighbours, though every means was to be used to prevent them from engaging in war. He himself, after communicating with the company from China, proposed to return. The king, on being informed of this arrangement, could not credit it, but said they *pucka gogel*, "were in jest." On being assured, however, that such was really their determination, he showed himself happy beyond expression, and ordered an ample provision of fish and yams to be prepared. It was also arranged, that several of the Pelew natives should accompany the captain, who left with the king a boy, whom he treated as his son.

During the interval of preparation, two chiefs came from the neighbouring island of Emmeleigue, and on being taken into the cabin, went over the same round of wonder and rapture which had been so often repeated. On receiving a few knives and beads, they ran up to the deck, and exposed them in triumph to the view of their countrymen in the

canoes. Abba Thulle, however, in a private conversation, complained that these were but sunshine allies, who had never made their appearance while he was hard pressed by the war with Artingall, and who paid their present court only in consideration of his powerful friends, the English. Two canoes, also, actuated by the same motive, arrived from Artingall to sue for peace. Abba Thulle treated them very haughtily, not allowing them to visit the strangers, but only requesting that they might be entertained with the exhibition of two great guns fired with shot, in order to heighten their impression of English power.

Before Captain M'Cluer sailed, it was necessary that he should be invested with the Order of the *Bone*; but the one first brought was so small, that it could not be got on, and even the second not without difficulty; however, the matter was at length accomplished.

Thursday the 10th February being fixed for the day of sailing, the natives who were to accompany the captain came on board. They had with them many relations, who appeared so overwhelmed by the parting, that Captain M'Cluer said they had better remain; but they answered, No! no! to let them cry for only half an hour, and they would go away contented. This term of parental and filial tenderness being expired, the mother cut three locks of hair from her daughter's head, and they went away composed and tranquil. A day or two before going, Captain M'Cluer had inserted in his Journal, "I found my situation quite a paradise, and could with pleasure have spent the remainder of my days here." He only complains, that the

people are light-fingered, from the highest to the lowest; but for this he makes great allowances; and there is evidently nothing of the kind among themselves, since their houses are left open, and their spears and utensils unprotected, in the most solitary situations, without the least apprehension.

Some time after the departure of Captain M'Cluer, Captain Proctor and his officers were surprised when Abba Thulle and his chief rupacks paid them a visit; but, instead of beginning conversation in their usual gay and familiar manner, seated themselves in regular order, and remained for some time fixed in solemn silence. The captain inquired what was the cause of this unusual gloom, and whether the English had done any thing to offend the king; whereupon, says he, he looked at me with a smile so kind and good, that my fears were entirely at an end. He then preferred a request in the most modest manner, and hoped that we would assist him in an expedition against Artingall. To this I was obliged to make the following answer: that it was not in my power to comply with his request, as my orders from captain M'Cluer were to the contrary. The good old king said, it was well that I must obey my superior rupack; but he gave me a look so very impressive of disappointment, yet so free from anger, that I confess it quite overpowered me. After remaining for some time silent, he said, Only permit your people to go in some of the canoes, and stay at a distance to notice the battle; and, in order to obey my superior rupack, the men should be directed not to fire, but merely show themselves to the enemy. He added, that should the Artingall men get the advantage, he trusted to the steady

friendship of the English, and the superiority of their muskets, for securing his retreat. So much delicacy could not be withstood; the terms were agreed on, and I had the satisfaction, at the return of our men, to hear that the friends of the English were victorious.

Captain Proctor was most strictly justified in refusing to interfere in a war which seems to have been offensive on the part of the king. He only agreed, that the English boats should place themselves in the rear, to cover the retreat of their friends, in case of their being worsted; but they proved victorious, and no exertion of British prowess became necessary on this occasion.

During this residence, some additional particulars respecting the natives came to the knowledge of the English. Each little town or village has its rupack, who governs under Abba Thulle, and pays a kind of rent or tribute in yams, betel nuts, cocoa-nut leaves, &c. Besides which, he is bound, when called upon, to bring all his canoes and men to the aid of his sovereign, in any military expedition. The king can punish the offence of an inferior rupack, by taking from him his bone; but those of higher rank are considered as having a hereditary right to their districts, and cannot be displaced without danger of exciting a revolt. Every man may have as many wives as he pleases, so long as he can provide a house for each; but this faculty is confined to rupacks, and does not extend far, unless in the case of those of high rank. Marriage is attended with no ceremony, except that of the wife going home to the house prepared for her. It is indeed an indispensable pre-requisite, that, at some period of her previous

life, she should have been thoroughly *melgothed*, that is, tatooed on the hands, arms, feet and legs, with punctured lines, representing various birds, beasts, fishes and plants. This operation is not only painful but costly, as it requires a skilled artist to perform it. Though the females of rank, therefore, are usually *melgothed* at the age of six or seven, the inferior classes must often delay till they can muster in yam, cocoa-nut, or other produce, funds sufficient for paying the performer. Although there was no external form of worship, a class of persons were found to exist called Uckaleeths, or prophets, who were held so sacred over all the islands, that even the most hostile natives left their possessions untouched. The king, by an able stroke of policy, had assigned his frontier territory to one of these uckaleeths, by which means it served as a barrier to the rest of the kingdom. It is remarkable that policy exactly similar has been adopted by the emperor of China, in regard to that part of Thibet called the Undes, which, by being bestowed in *gaihire* upon the Lamas, is guarded from the incursion of the bordering Tartars.

On the 10th June 1791, the Panther arrived from Macao, and was immediately visited and welcomed by the king and a crowd of the natives. The Pelew passengers had much to do in unfolding to their countrymen the mighty wonders they had seen in their absence. Above all things, they had been amazed by the view of an English line of battle ship, which happened to be in the harbour of Canton. They expressed their exaggerated idea of its hugeness, by pointing to an island about two

miles in circumference, and declaring that the ship was as large.

A few days after, the king renewed to Captain M'Cluer, in person, his solicitation for the aid of the English in the war against Artingall; and that officer, who seems now to have become more and more *Pelewized*, gave his consent at once, thus without any apparent reason contravening his own instructions. The long-boat was therefore immediately equipped with a six-pounder, two swivels, and a crew of ten musketeers. Twenty seapoys were dispersed through different canoes, and Lieutenant Wedgeborough, accompanied the king in his own. Being saluted on their departure with three cheers from Captain M'Cluer, which were joyfully reechoed from the canoes, they proceeded to Cooroora, where they were regaled with a handsome supper of fish, yams, and sweet drink. A *pye* or public hall had been cleared for their sleeping accommodation. They started betimes in the morning, expecting an early departure; but the expedition did not, in fact, move till five in the afternoon. On their passage, they disturbed an inhabitant of the seas, which seems strongly to resemble the famous or fabulous merman of Norway. It was not caught, and consequently not closely examined; but, according to the natives, it is sometimes sixteen feet long, and twelve in circumference, being as much as two men can encompass with their arms extended; its head resembles that of a seal, with arms or fins; and the female has breasts with four nipples, just below the arms, where it suckles its young. From its head are taken three bones, which are singularly prized in Pelew, being

those which, placed round the wrist, confer the title and dignity of rupack.

The expedition proceeded first to the pier of Try, rendered secure, as before mentioned, by the abode of the great Uckaleeth. At this general rendezvous, two hundred canoes, the vassals, or allies of Abba Thulle, were found to have assembled. Thence they made, with all speed, towards the pier of Malligoyoke, the grand stronghold and capital of Artingall. On approaching within two miles of it, anchor was cast for the night; and, at daybreak, the king sent a herald with terms, the refusal of which would infer immediate hostility. In the view of biassing the deliberations in the Artingall cabinet, all the muskets of the fleet were fired singly in succession, till the series amounted nearly to forty; a course which failed not apparently to make a salutary impression. In less than an hour a canoe was seen hastily pulling off from the pier. It pushed through the fleet, the rowers flourishing their paddles, till it was placed alongside of the canoe of Abba Thulle. Four rupacks, who had come in this canoe, sat for some time in perfect silence, till at length one of them asked the other, why he did not speak to the king. A conference then ensued, in the course of which the Artingall deputies were seen presenting beads as an instrument of pacification; while Abba Thulle, in enforcing his claims, emphatically pointed to the long-boat and to the seapoys—objects which were beheld with mingled dismay and astonishment by the Artingalls. The deputies then departed, to report the issue of this conference; and the van division of the fleet, including all the English auxili-

aries, was advanced to within a mile of Malligo-yoke. Soon after, the four Artingall rupacks came out, and announced the consent of their government, that the Coorooras, with their allies, might come to the pier, where they could more easily and expeditiously discuss the terms of accommodation. About noon, accordingly, they took their station at the outer end of this pier, which was found to be really an astonishing fabric. It was composed entirely of coral rocks, piled ingeniously upon each other, and was twelve feet high, fifteen feet broad at the top, and extended about a mile into the sea, so as to leave an open passage between its termination and a range of exterior reefs. Another conference here took place, accompanied with a fresh exhibition of the performance upon the brass gun, and of the round and grape shot. At the close of the interview, there seemed a general understanding, that peace would be the result. Several of the natives came down to gratify their curiosity by a view of the new people, and their singular appendages. The English being then invited on shore, went, accompanied by a train of five hundred Coorooras. Being formed in line, they were asked first to fire in two divisions, and then a general volley, which they executed with the accompaniment of shouts of triumph on the part of their friends, and, on that of the Artingalls, with new signs of wonder and dismay. The officers were even about accepting an invitation from the Arra Kooker or general, when Captain Proctor's *succalic*, or friend, took him aside, and urged the extreme rashness of going to the house of a man who would probably seize this opportunity to take revenge for the injuries his peo-

ple had suffered from the English. They were relieved from their embarrassment by a message from the king, ordering the immediate return of the whole party, whose prolonged absence had given him some uneasiness.

During the night, they remained on board the fleet, torches and lights being kept continually burning, for fear of surprise. At eight in the morning, a new deputation came out, and held a short audience with Abba Thulle. At its conclusion, that Prince, with a smiling countenance, told the English officers that there would be no fighting, as the Artingalls had agreed to all his demands. The king then, in compliance with a fresh deputation, went on shore in full pomp, and every symptom of hostile feeling ceased on both sides. They marched immediately to the place of council, where they found assembled all the rupacks of Artingall. One side of the hall was cleared for Abba Thulle and his attendants, while the other was occupied by the native chiefs. The audience began with many ceremonies, on the completion of which an easy and friendly conversation took place. Lieutenant Wedgeborough, having an opportunity of talking with one of their principal rupacks, took occasion to assure him, that the English entertained no hostile feelings against Artingall, and their only wish was to see peace established throughout the islands. They had only felt themselves bound to espouse the cause of Abba Thulle, in consequence of his great hospitality to their countrymen, who had suffered shipwreck on his coast. Should a similar accident happen on the coast of Artingall, and a like humane conduct be observed, it would call forth

the same return of gratitude and reward; and in exchange for their cocoa-nuts, yams, and fish, they would receive iron, cloth, and beads. The Lieutenant does not record any other reply, besides an eager inquiry, whether they would obtain powder also. A general silence now ensued in the hall, and one of the Artingall rupacks was seen advancing to the king, and presenting him with a bead, which was acknowledged by the return of one of inferior value. The parties now took leave, and proceeded to a pye about a quarter of a mile distant, where they were regaled with tubs of sweet drink, after which they re-embarked. Lieutenant Wedgeborough took an early opportunity of asking Abba Thulle what the grand concession was, which had put an end to all the animosities between the two people, and united them in the bonds of cordiality und amity. The king told him that he was ready to exhibit to him this mighty fruit of his triumph, only beseeching him not to let it fall and break it. He then put into his hands a little yellow stone, about two inches long, shaped like a wedge, and with a hole through it for the insertion of a string. After satisfying his curiosity, and gazing with the respect which was due, the lieutenant hastened to return into the royal hands so momentous a deposit. The allied powers soon returned to Cooroora, where they were welcomed by the natives, bringing down in profusion baskets of provisions, and tubs of sweet drink. Every kindness was lavished on the English in the festival that followed, commemorative of the triumph obtained through their means, and which had constituted Abba Thulle owner of the

great bead, and chief rupack of all the islands at Pelew.

On the 27th June, the vessels, conformably to orders which they had received, set sail to make a survey of the coast of New Guinea. The good old king being assured that they would pay him another visit on their way to China, requested that they would take with them a few of his subjects, and leave one or two English with him, that the people of Pelew might be made "as like Englishmen as possible." Two English boys were accordingly left, and three of the natives went on board the Panther. They carried on this survey from July to December, with an interval of ten days spent at Amboyna, where the Dutch gave them a very hospitable reception. Their intercourse with the natives was in general friendly; though on one occasion, Mr Nicholson the surgeon allowed himself to be inveigled into a canoe, where he was killed and thrown overboard, at the same time some of the crew being wounded by a shower of arrows. The English obtained refreshment at Timor, and met with that hospitable reception so often experienced there by British mariners. They then sailed for Bencoolen, where they spent some months, and, on the 17th August, again set out for the Pelew islands. On their way they touched at the Sooloo islands, where they took on board as much seed, grain, and cattle, as their ships could hold; and, on the 20th January 1793, arrived at Pelew. Two of the natives had died in the course of the voyage. They were not long of receiving intelligence of the death of their worthy and beneficent friend Abba Thulle, which had taken place three months after their departure.

He was succeeded by his brother, the Clow Arra Kooker.

Soon after, Captain M'Cluer despatched the Endeavour to China, where Captain Proctor was ordered to join the embassy under Lord Macartney, and had no farther connection with the Pelew islands. Not long after, the people of the Panther having landed the stores and every thing which could be useful to the natives, began, with some heaviness of heart, to make preparations for their final departure. Of the attachment inspired by the amiable and friendly conduct of these islanders, a much more remarkable proof than ever was now to be given. Captain M'Cluer announced the intention which he had for some time secretly cherished, of resigning his command, and fixing his future abode at Pelew. On the 2d February 1793, he wrote a letter to Lieutenant Wedgeborough, desiring him to take charge of the Panther, with all her stores and provisions. Mr W and his brother officers, he said, had used every argument in their power to dissuade him from this uncommon and unprecedented step. It was one which might be taken for an act of insanity; but it was, on the contrary, the result of mature deliberation, adopted with a view to benefit his country and the world in general, by enlightening the minds of these noble islanders. He requested that there should be left with him twenty muskets, twelve pistols, and a quantity of ammunition. These articles the officers agreed to deliver, under the proviso, that his attorney should be responsible for them, in case the Company should disapprove of their having been thus disposed of. These stores, and a boat, having been delivered to Captain M'-

Cluer on the 3d, he came on board, and in presence of the whole ship's company, summoned for that purpose, formally resigned his command to Lieutenant Wedgeborough.

After ten days spent in preparation, the Panther unmoored and set sail for China. Although none of the crew felt any temptation to imitate the conduct of their commander, they yet confess, that it required a more than ordinary resolution to meet the moment of parting with such long tried and intimate friends, with almost a certainty of its being the last adieu. They arrived at Macao on the 7th March, and having refitted, proceeded to Bombay, which they reached on the 17th August, 1793.

Captain M'Cluer, who seems in this step to have been considerably under the influence of a fickle disposition, soon tired of his residence on these islands, at a distance from all European society. So potent did this *ennui* become, that it drove him to the perilous extreme of setting sail in the little boat that had been left with him, accompanied by five men, of whom three were Malays. His first intention was to go to Ternate, one of the Moluccas, "to hear the news;" but he afterwards resolved to steer for China. The voyage proved very rough; he had no instruments for his guidance, and only one chart; and his only food was cocoa-nuts and water. Yet he arrived safely at Macao, to the great surprise of the English factory; and finding seemingly a more cordial reception from M. Van Braam and the other Dutch residents, he took up his abode with them. According to the account now given by Captain M'Cluer, the cattle, sheep and goats put upon these

MUTINY

OF

THE BOUNTY.

CHAPTER I.

MOTIVES OF SENDING CAPTAIN BLIGH TO THE SOUTH SEA—HIS VOYAGE—ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE—TRANSACTIONS IN THAT ISLAND—COMPLETES HIS MISSION—DEPARTURE.

The reign of George III. was illustrated beyond every former era of English history, by mighty and successful efforts in the career of maritime discovery. Under the personal auspices of his Majesty, and with means furnished by his government, voyages were made to quarters of the globe, and regions, the very existence of which had been unknown to former ages. Under this influence arose Cook, who raised a name above that of every past and future navigator. Between the Equator and the Polar circle, his flag continued to fly, till scarcely a corner of the great ocean, which covers the opposite side of the earth, was left unexplored.

It was glorious to Britain, that these expeditions were not destined, like too many of those first undertaken by Europeans, to establish iniquitous and chimerical claims of dominion, to drag into bondage the unhappy natives, and to glut the thirst for those glittering treasures, which a blind avarice supposed alone to constitute wealth. Even the humbly laudable object of finding new channels of lucrative trade was, in this instance, accounted secondary. The pure interests of science, the diffusion among civilized nations of a knowledge of the globe which they inhabited, were the objects held mainly in view, and brilliantly fulfilled.

Although, however, discovery and knowledge had been the moving principles in this great career, yet, when new seas and new worlds were brought to the knowledge of Europe, nothing could be more laudable than to endeavour to draw from them the means of augmenting the subsistence and accommodations of mankind. The newly discovered islands of the great ocean presented many peculiar forms, both of animal and vegetable existence. Among the latter, the most remarkable and promising was a tree producing food for man, in such easy abundance, as seemed almost to exempt him from the original doom of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. In the Ladrone or Marianne Islands was discovered the *bread-fruit* tree, first noticed, we believe, by Dampier, and of which that intelligent and accurate navigator gives the following description.

"The bread-fruit (as we call it) grows on a large tree, as big and high as our largest apple-trees. It hath a spreading head full of branches and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs

like apples: it is as big as a penny loaf when wheat is at five shillings the bushel; it is of a round shape, and hath a thick tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of Guam use it for bread. They gather it when full grown, while it is green and hard: then they bake it in an oven, which scorcheth the rind, and makes it black; but they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender thin crust; and the inside is soft, tender and white, like the crumb of a penny loaf. There is neither seed nor stone in the inside, but all is of a pure substance like bread. It must be eaten new; for, if it is kept above twenty-four hours, it grows harsh and choaky; but it is very pleasant before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in season *eight months* in the year, during which the natives eat *no other sort of food of bread kind.* I did never see of this fruit any where but here. The natives told us, that there is plenty of this fruit growing on the rest of the Ladrone islands; and *I did never hear of it any where else.*"

In the narrative of Lord Anson's voyage, this tree is described also as growing in Tinian, as constantly eaten by the crew instead of bread, and universally preferred. It is said to be fittest for use when full grown, yet still green; and, when roasted, "its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spungy.

This tree had hitherto been observed only in the Ladrones; but Captain Cook found it equally abundant in the Society Islands. He describes the fruit as "about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface reticulated not much unlike

a truffle. The taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread, mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke." In the first voyage, he says, that it does not grow spontaneously; but that, if a man plants ten trees in his lifetime, which he may do in about an hour, he will completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations. In his third voyage, however, he observes, that, to his most careful inquiries, the answer always was, that the natives *never* planted it; that the young trees spring from the roots of the old, which run along near the surface of the ground; and that this tree, therefore, would speedily cover the whole island, if it were not checked with the view of raising other plants, to afford some variety of food. In the course of this voyage, the same tree was found also in the Sandwich Islands, not as in Otaheite, in fertile plains, but upon the perpendicular sides and deep chasms of mountains, which rose almost perpendicularly, and threw up peaks of varied form. In this situation the trees were not so abundant; but they produced double the quantity of fruit.

The climates in which this valuable and remarkable production had thus been traced, although not favourable to any hope of its transplantation into Europe, suggested its aptitude for some valuable possessions of Britain within the torrid zone. The West Indies possessed a climate not so directly under the line as Otaheite and the Ladrones, but somewhat nearer than the Sandwich Islands. They yielded, however, only the rude and scarcely wholesome roots of manioc and cassada for the food of the negroes, and contained

nothing out of which could be made bread fitted for the palate of European settlers. It occurred, therefore, to a number of respectable individuals connected with these islands, that the transplantation thither of the bread-fruit would be a most important acquisition. A memorial drawn up under this impression met with immediate attention from a Government always disposed to promote such improvements. The Bounty, a vessel of 215 tons, with 44 men, was placed under the command of Lieutenant Bligh, an enterprising and experienced officer, who had served as master under Captain Cook. He was instructed to proceed to Otaheite, and there to procure and lodge on board of his vessel, which had been fitted with proper accommodations for that purpose, as many of the trees as it could conveniently receive. In case, on his arrival at Java, any of these trees should have perished, or suffered injury, they were to be replaced with mangosteens, duriens, and other fine fruits of that quarter, as well as with some plants of the species of rice, which grows on dry ground. On his way home he was to proceed to the West Indies, deposit one half of these supplies at St Vincent, for the benefit of the Windward Islands, and proceed with the other half to Jamaica. Two gardeners skilled in Botany, Mr Nelson and Mr Brown, accompanied him, to select and take care of this valuable cargo. Every thing being arranged with a view to the objects of the voyage, the great cabin was appropriated for the preservation of the plants. It had two large sky-lights, and on each side three scuttles for air, and was fitted with a false floor cut full of holes to contain the garden

pots, in which the plants were to be brought home. The commander had a small adjoining cabin to sleep in, and a place in the middle of the ship for eating. His instructions were to endeavour, in the first instance, to pass round Cape Horn, as obviously much the nearest route; but it being the end of December, there was reason to apprehend that the season might not admit of his effecting that dangerous passage; in which event, permission was given to take the circuit by the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr Bligh set sail from Spithead on the 23d December 1787. On the 26th he encountered a severe storm, which broke into the ship, and washed overboard some casks of beer that had been lashed to the deck. The boats had nearly shared the same fate; and a great quantity of the bread was rendered useless by the cabin being filled with water. Next day the gale abated, and they had moderate and favourable winds as far as Teneriffe, where they arrived on the 4th January. Here they laid in good wine at ten pounds a pipe, and some almost equal to the best London Madeira at fifteen pounds. Provisions and vegetables, however, were very scarce and dear, and fruits not to be had. This was owing to the season; for, from March to November the supplies are plentiful and cheap.

After leaving Teneriffe the crew were made acquainted with the purpose of the voyage, and assurance of promotion was given to those who should merit it by their services. In the view of being able to proceed to Otaheite without stopping, they were put upon two thirds allowance of bread; but that they might enjoy unbroken rest,

the two watches were divided into three, the third being intrusted to Fletcher Christian, master's mate, and a man of talents, who afterwards made himself but too conspicuous.

The voyage down the Atlantic was favourable. They suffered only from the alternation of violent rains and extreme heat, which were trying to the health of the sailors; but by great attention to drying and ventilation, the line was passed, and the temperate regions again reached, without the health of the crew being at all affected.

On the 23d March, the vessel reached Terra del Fuego, which did not here present the same terrible aspect of snowy precipices as within the Straits. From the state of the wind, it was thought preferable to go round to the eastward of Staten Land, rather than through the Straits Le Marie. New-Year's Harbour offered a safe and easy approach, which almost tempted Mr Bligh to enter; and he suggests it as a convenient place of refreshment; but the lateness of the season induced him to give up all thoughts of pausing till he reached Otaheite. Having passed by the eastern side of Staten Land, they soon lost sight of land, and saw the expanse of the Pacific before them. Here, however, began a series of heavy and tempestuous gales from the westward, in which they beat about for a month, without being able to make any material progress. In this dreary and inhospitable scene, their only amusement consisted in catching the sea-birds peculiar to it; albatrosses, of which some that they took measured seven feet from wing to wing, and two beautiful smaller species, the blue petterel and the pintada. Both, when first caught, were lean, and had a fishy taste; but when con-

fined, and fed with corn for a short time, they became equal, the pintada to the best duck, and the albatross to an equally excellent goose. However, the winds and waves continued to roll without intermission, their conflict against which began at length to be unequal. The ship began to *complain*, and required to be pumped every hour; the decks became so leaky, that it was necessary to allot the great cabin as a place for sleeping in to those sailors who had their hammocks hung in exposed situations. Such was the violent rolling of the sea, that the cook one day fell, and broke one of his ribs; another man, from a similar cause, had his shoulder dislocated. After thoroughly clearing Cape Horn, and reaching the latitude of 76°, they were driven back six degrees, and found, to their severe mortification, that they were now losing ground every day. There remained, then, no alternative but to use the Admiralty permission, and take the route, circuitous though it was, by the Cape of Good Hope; a route in which, from the prevalence of westerly winds at this season, they had every reason to look for a favourable run.

On the 22d April, the commander, to the general joy, ordered the helm to be put "a-weather;" and on the same day of the following month, they came in sight of the Table mountain. The place was found considerably increased, both in strength and the respectability of its population, since it was visited by himself eight years before; and care was taken to procure some seeds and plants that would be useful at Otaheite and elsewhere. Anxious inquiries were here made about the recent catastrophe of the Grosvenor, which had excited deep sympathy in England. Colonel Gordon expressed

much regret for having said any thing that had excited at home a vain hope that any of the unfortunate sufferers might be got alive. During his travels in the Caffre country, a native had told him that there was, among his countrymen, a white woman with a child, which she frequently embraced, crying most bitterly. All that Colonel Gordon could then do was to engage the native, by presents and promises, to take a letter to this woman; but though that person most cheerfully undertook the commission, he never returned, and nothing more was ever heard on the subject.

On leaving the Cape, Mr Bligh steered direct across the ocean for the southern point of Van Diemen's land; after doubling which, and passing through the channel between New Holland and New Zealand, he would find himself at once in the middle of the South Sea. On the 19th July he came in sight of the Mewstone, a high bold rock, five leagues from the south-west Cape of Van Diemen, and which he advises all vessels this way bound to endeavour to make. This rapid passage was produced by strong and often tempestuous gales from the south-west, accompanied by flocks of albatrosses, petterels, and other birds of the ocean, which disappeared whenever the wind began to blow from the north. None of the natives were seen, nor did there appear any trace, as if European vessels had visited the coast since the Resolution and Discovery had been there in 1777. From some of the trees which were then cut down, shoots twenty-five feet high were observed to have sprung up. The vessel having reached Adventure Bay, found an abundant supply both of sea and

shell-fish; and if of the last some were thought to disagree with the sailors, Mr Bligh was disposed to impute the blame chiefly to the too great quantity eaten by them. In this bay they planted three fine young apple-trees, vines, plantains, orange, lemon, cherry, and other fruits, with two sorts of Indian corn. The ground appeared of a rich loamy nature, well adapted for these productions; and the chief danger apprehended was, from the fires which the natives are apt to apply in the summer to the dried grass and underwood, and which spread so as to be very formidable to every thing that cannot bear a severe scorching. After about a week spent in the bay, a sound was heard like the cackling of geese, and presently about twenty of the natives came down, making a prodigious clattering, and holding their arms over their heads. Although the vessel was only twenty yards from the shore, the surf was so great as to render landing impossible; but the presents intended for them were tied in a paper, and thrown on shore. They showed considerable scruple in untying the parcels, but at length took out the articles, and placed them on their heads. One man was remarked, who had been seen in Captain Cook's last voyage, where he is particularized for his humour and deformity. Landing being impossible, although the natives invited it by signs, the Bounty steered to another part of the bay, where it was expected that so friendly and profitable an interview on their part would have led to a repetition of the visit; but nothing more was seen of them during the continuance of the Adventure on this coast.

Having laid in a supply of wood and water, Mr

Bligh put the ship in motion towards Otaheite. He entertained at first the intention of passing to the south of New Zealand, expecting in that route to meet with constant westerly winds; but finding them variable, and often blowing strong from the eastward, he altered his intention, and proceeded up the sea between New Holland and New Zealand. They effected their run to Otaheite in fifty-two days, without any sight of land, except the small island of Maitea, called Osnaburg by Captain Wallis, to which they passed quite close. About twenty of the natives followed them along shore, waving and showing large pieces of cloth; but the surf rendered it impossible to hold any communication with them. The entire run from Britain to Otaheite had been, by the log, twenty-seven thousand and eighty-six miles, performed between the 16th August 1787, and the 16th October 1788, making an average rate of 108 miles every twenty-four hours.

On Sunday the 26th October, at four in the morning, the Bounty anchored near Point Venus, in Matavai bay. Native canoes soon appeared; and when they received satisfactory answers to the questions if they were *Tyos* (friends), and if they came from *Pretanie*, such crowds flocked on board, that before nine o'clock, the commander could not see his own people. They learned with much regret that Omai, with whom so much friendly intercourse had been held, was dead, as well as the two New Zealand boys that had been left with him. Otoo, the chief of Matavai, when Captain Cook was there, was now absent at another part of the island, but immediate notice would be given him, and it was not doubted that he would visit

them with all speed. The natives showed the most friendly disposition, and during the day no instance of dishonesty occurred; but the ship was so thoroughly filled with them, that it was impossible to move her to a more proper station, without clearing them away by measures which would have been felt as harsh and disobliging. The seamen therefore took occasion early next morning, before the great influx began, to work her farther into the bay, and moor her at about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

Mr Bligh went first on shore, to visit the chief, Poeeno, whose wife and daughter he found at work staining a piece of cloth red. They received him with great kindness, and, after offering refreshments, put on him, after the Otaheite fashion, a piece of their finest manufacture, and each taking one of his hands, accompanied him to the water side. On the morning of Tuesday, a request came, to send a boat for their old acquaintance Otoo, who, on learning their arrival, had made all haste to visit them. It was with some surprise, however, that he was found to present himself under the appellation of *Tinah*, having devolved on his son the original name of Otoo. Yet, amid the wonder and perplexity which these transformations occasioned to the English, they might have considered that very nearly the same thing happens to the titled and promoted classes in their own country. The Otaheiteans certainly carry it very far, since they are said sometimes to bear six several names in the course of thirty years. Tinah brought with him a young queen called Iddeah, of very large size, and with an animated and intelligent countenance, which was not belied by her

speech and conduct; she was moreover the best wrestler in the island. The first ceremonial consisted in taking off a large quantity of cloth which had been hooped round a female attendant, and presenting it to the captain, to which was added bread-fruit and a hog. This was the well understood prelude to a corresponding present in return. Mr Bligh drew forth an assortment of hatchets, saws, gimlets, and similar articles; while, to suit the supposed taste of Iddeah, earrings, necklaces, &c. were put into her hands; but that lofty-minded dame viewed them with evident contempt, compared with the iron implements which she saw in her husband's possession; and her satisfaction remained imperfect, till she had received a portion of the same. It became then necessary to show them every part of the vessel, including the captain's sleeping cabin; a survey which afforded a fair opportunity for gentle hints relative to sundry little articles which would complete their satisfaction. As, however, his Otaheitean majesty did not possess any locked place to secure these precious gifts from the pilfering disposition of his dutiful subjects, he solicited and obtained a locker in the captain's cabin for this special purpose. As the system of presents continued without intermission, his visits to it were frequent; yet it surprised Mr Bligh, in the glimpses which he obtained into this treasury, to observe, that its dimensions did not magnify in any proportion to the deposits lodged; and at length, amid constant accessions, remained nearly stationary. It was traced out, that Iddeah had secured in the gunner's cabin a more ample depositary, into which Tinah's surplus was withdrawn, as soon as the latter threaten-

ed to attain a size which would have made further contributions appear unnecessary.

The first ceremonies being over, Tinah was invited to dinner, along with his attendant chiefs, of whom Whydooah, his brother, was reckoned the greatest warrior and drunkard in the island. The king, according to the custom of some of the principal chiefs, was fed by one of his attendants, whose office he took care should be far from a sinecure. As the women in Otaheite are not allowed to eat in presence of the men, Iddeah and some of her companions dined by themselves about an hour after, when Tinah, despising common rules on so important an occasion, favoured them with his presence, and performed his part in a manner which could have afforded no suspicion of his having already dined, far less so heartily. As the captain next morning returned Tinah's visit on shore, he was followed by a crowd so immense, as to render the heat almost intolerable; but it was impossible to make any complaint, as every thing was done in perfect good humour, and they did all in their power to avoid pressing on the English. As the captain sought occasion to gratify them by presents, particularly of beads to the little children, much good humoured drollery was carried on in the endeavour to benefit by the occasion. Boys of ten or twelve years old were caught in arms, and presented for the purpose; and the captain returned to the ship, without one of the articles, suited to a traffic of this nature, which he had carried with him. Although Tinah and the other chiefs were so diligent, in a regular way, to get all that they possibly could, yet as to any unlawful means, they not only strictly abstained themselves, but se-

verely chastised every attempt which was prompted by the eager thieving propensity of their followers. Indeed, they never rested till they had recovered and restored every article thus taken away. One of the first particulars which disappeared was the buoy of the best bower anchor, for the sake, it was supposed, of some iron hoops on it. Of this Tinah was so much ashamed, that he would not come on board till he had received from the captain assurances of being welcome. Another very serious theft was, that of a butcher's cleaver, an article so precious in the eye of an Otaheitean, that, notwithstanding Tinah's solemn professions, Mr Bligh felt unable to cherish any hopes of ever seeing it again. In two days, however, Tinah came on board with it, declaring, what was believed to be true, that very extraordinary exertions had been necessary to induce the thief to render it up. So delicate on this occasion was Tinah, that on a present being offered immediately after, he refused taking a single article, lest it should be considered as a return for the restoration of the cleaver. Still more important was the loss of a water-cask, an azimuth compass, and the bedding of an officer, which were carried off from the post on shore. In three hours, however, Tinah appeared with the two former articles and the offenders, expressing his wish that the latter should be killed, which, however, Captain Bligh declined doing.

Mr Bligh was particularly diligent in inquiries respecting the plants and domestic animals, which had been left by Captain Cook, in the view of their breeding and affording a valuable addition to the resources of these islanders. The report was unsatisfactory. About five years after the depar-

ture of Cook, a descent had been made by the people of Eimeo, who had driven Tinah to the mountains, and obtained temporary possession of the island; in the course of which, they had killed and eaten a great proportion of these supplies, and carried off most of the remainder. This devastation, however, bore a less ominous aspect than the profound apathy with which these benefits were viewed by those for whom they had been introduced. On observing, indeed, the visible delight of Tinah at the deep concern shown by Captain Bligh for the destruction caused by the Eimeos, good hopes were entertained as to his own disposition; but, alas! this emotion was soon found to arise solely from the chimerical hope, that the English would be thus induced to aid him in taking vengeance on the Eimeos. As to the mere loss of the cattle, it proved that he felt no concern whatever. Nothing could more clearly show this than that, though they had still very fine specimens, both of a bull and a cow, those were kept, each by itself, at opposite extremities of the island. Mr Bligh in vain reproached them with a separation so absurd, and so fatal to every object for which these animals had been instrusted to them. It was only by a long treaty, and by repurchasing one of the parties, that they could be brought into the requisite proximity; and even then, the rooted indifferenc ewhich still prevailed, gave a very poor prospect of future well-doing. Ducks and geese, however, had contrived to multiply; and the European breed of hogs was found to have entirely supplanted the short and thick-necked Chinese species. Several of the plants also, though neglected and trodden under foot, had made their

way, particularly the shaddock, a juicy and refreshing fruit, well suited to the climate.

During the whole visit, the greatest cordiality and mirth prevailed between the ship's crew and the natives. As a specimen of the jokes mutually played off, the following may be given. "The ship's barber had brought with him from London, a painted head, such as the hair-dressers have in their shops, to show the different fashions of dressing hair; and it being made with regular features, and well coloured, I desired him to dress it, which he did with much neatness, and with a stick, and a quantity of cloth, he formed a body. It was then reported to the natives that we had an English woman on board, and the quarter-deck was cleared of the crowd, that she might make her appearance. Being handed up the ladder, and carried to the after part of the deck, there was a general shout of "*Huaheine no Brittanne myty.*" Huaheine signifies woman, and myty, good. Many of them thought it was living, and asked if it was my wife. One old woman ran with presents of cloth and bread-fruit, and laid them at her feet. At last they found out the cheat, but continued all delighted with it, except the old lady, who felt herself mortified, and took back her presents, for which she was laughed at exceedingly. Tinah and all the chiefs enjoyed the joke, and, after making many inquiries about the British women, they strictly enjoined me, when I came again, to bring a ship full of them."

The residence became the more agreeable, as the intense and harassing curiosity excited in the natives, by the first arrival, gradually subsided.

When the English landed, they had no longer a crowd at their heels, and when they entered a house, they found a cordial welcome to whatever was in it, without officious inquiry. In the same manner, when they wished to take leave, they had full liberty to go, without any ceremony, but that of a farewell expression. The Otaheiteans appear to have a graceful and courteous ease of manner, equally free from reserve and forwardness. In conversation, however, they are rather too much addicted to that coarse sort of wit called *humbug*, telling each other the most palpable lies, with a view to the amusement of their being believed; and this is accompanied by a remarkable degree of credulity, which renders any such imposition almost sure of success. They used frequently to ask the English if they had ever been at the sun or the moon; thinking their powers of self-motion such, that they might be adequate even to an expedition of this nature. In the course of their frequent visits, they became fond of wine, and sometimes thought that the glass circulated too slowly; but observing that a bumper was always taken to his Majesty's health, they used to call out in the middle of dinner, "King George Earee, no Brittanie." On these occasions, however, etiquette required that Tinah should always have the glass lifted to his mouth by another; and if none of his attendants happened to be present, it was requisite for Mr Bligh himself to perform this office.

The following dialogue with an Otaheitean priest, may illustrate the crude ideas entertained by these islanders on the subject of religion. "He said their great God was called Oro; and that

they had many others of less consequence. He asked me if I had a God?—if he had a son! and who was his wife? I told them he had a son, but no wife. Who was his father and mother? was the next question. I said he never had father or mother: at this they laughed exceedingly. You have a God then who never had a father or mother, and has a child without a wife! Many other questions were asked, which my little knowledge of the language did not enable me to answer.

Wrestling appeared to be, as much as before, a favourite amusement. It is made more a display of strength than of skill. They strike each other with the hollow of the hand so forcibly, as often to break the skin and cause severe bruises; and while thus engaged, a sound arises like that of a number of people felling trees. The women also sometimes wrestle with each other in the same manner, but with less of either strength or skill; in lieu of which they display, we are sorry to find, a vehemence of passion, and eager animosity, by no means accordant with the amiable character of the sex.

We regret to find full confirmation of all that has been reported of the unbounded license of the Otaheitean women. Several heivas or dances, consisting of indecent attitudes, were exhibited to the crew. Tinah's brother communicated the scandalous anecdote, already rumoured from other quarters, that the towtow, or servant who fed that chief, was also the favoured lover of Iddeah, and that this connexion was carried on under the full sanction of Tinah. He mentioned it afterwards in presence of Iddeah herself and some of her friends, who blamed him indeed for telling it, but did not attempt any denial, and

seemed to consider the affair only as a matter of mirth. Mr Bligh was introduced to several of the Arreoys. They appeared to be men of great weight, and deported themselves with familiar gravity. Long speeches were made to them, accompanied with other marks of respect, approaching almost to religious veneration. Such of the natives as the captain conversed with respecting this horrid society, attempted an excuse, by representing it necessary to prevent an excess of population. "We have too many children and too many men," said they. It is remarkable, however, if such be the motive, that the institution should be so carefully shut against the body of the people, and strictly confined to the higher ranks, who are fewest in number, and have no scarcity to apprehend of the few and simple wants of Otaheitean life. With all deference, therefore, to Mr Malthus, we should strongly surmise, that this is an *ex post facto* argument, found out in defence of a practice, the real and original motive of which consisted in a wish for the unobstructed gratification of their irregular propensities.

During all this period Mr Bligh had never been unmindful of the main object of his voyage. To obtain a large stock of bread-fruit trees in fine condition, it was necessary that the king should consent, and forward the supply. An opportunity of introducing the subject was watched for, and a favourable one offered, when Tinah was endeavouring to persuade the captain against visiting any of the other islands. "Here," said he, "you shall be supplied plentifully with every thing you want. All here are your friends, and friends of King George. If you go to the other islands, you

will have every thing stolen from you." I replied, that, on account of their good-will, and from a desire to serve him and his country, King George had sent out those valuable presents to him; "and will not you, Tinah, send something to King George in return?"—"Yes," he said, "I will send him any thing I have;" and then began to enumerate the different articles in his power, among which he mentioned the bread-fruit. This was the exact point to which I wished to bring the conversation; and, seizing an opportunity, which had every appearance of being undesigned and accidental, I told him the bread-fruit trees were what King George would like; upon which he promised me a great many should be put on board, and seemed much delighted to find it so easily in his power to send any thing that would be well received by King George.

In consequence of this dialogue, the collection of the plants began without delay; and the natives, who showed great skill in cutting and pruning them, gave eager assistance. It appeared that they were to be propagated, not from seed, but from the root only. The best time for transplantation was after wet weather, when the earth balled round the roots, and they were not liable to suffer by being moved. They were first placed in pots on the shore, and carefully sheltered from the spray of the sea. In the course of six weeks, the English had collected 774 picked plants, having thrown out 302, which appeared to be assuming a less healthy appearance, and supplied their places with others.

The main object of the voyage being thus ful-

filled, Mr Bligh was preparing to leave Otaheite, when the earnest entreaties of the natives, and their bitter lamentations over his departure, so far prevailed with him, that he agreed to remain another month. In the end of January 1789, there remained no longer room for delay, and preparations began to be made for sailing. The regrets of Tinah continued unabated. One day after dinner, he made a serious and urgent proposal to go with the ship to England. Only Iddeah and two servants would accompany him. He much wished to see King George, who, he was sure, would be happy to see him. Mr Bligh at last could get rid of his importunity only by promising, that, in case of return, he would solicit King George's permission to bring them to England; in that case he would provide a larger ship, and better accommodation.

The continuance of westerly winds and other obstructions delayed the intended departure till the beginning of April. On the 31st March, all the plants were on board to the number of 1015, contained in the above mentioned number of pots. They had also collected some other plants, among which was the *avee* and the *aygah*, the former one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the *rattah*, resembling a chestnut; the *araiah*, a very superior kind of plaintain; the *ellow* and *matte*, beautiful red dyes; and a root called *eeat*, which made an excellent pudding. As the hour of departure approached, the concern of the natives became more visible. The *tyos*, or sworn friends, of whom almost every ailor had one, crowded on board with their pre- ts, and the deck was loaded with cocoa-nuts, ntains, bread-fruit, hogs, and goats. Nothing

was heard that evening of the dancing and gayety with which the coast was wont at that hour to be enlivened; on the contrary, a profound silence reigned.

On Saturday the 4th April, the Bounty made sail from Malaoni Bay, after a residence of twenty-three weeks, during which there had reigned between the crew and the natives a degree of harmony always increasing, and which subsequent events proved to have been but too cordial.

In sailing from Otaheite, Mr Bligh touched at the island of Huaheine, near the entrance of Owharre harbour, though without any intention of coming to anchor. His attention was immediately fixed on the spot where Omai's house had stood, but no part of it was now visible. Among the people, however, who in a few hours came on board, one recollected the commander, and called him by his name, adding that he had lived with Omai, and had often rode about with him. After Omai's death, the house had been broken to pieces, and the materials stolen. All the animals that had been left with him had perished, except one mare; and of the seeds and plants there remained only a single tree, of what kind it was impossible to discover.

A few days after passing Huaheine, a body of thick black clouds was collected in the east, between which and the ship there was seen a waterspout. The seamen were struck with its brilliant appearance, rendered conspicuous by the dark back ground on which it was visible. Admiration, however, was tinctured with other feelings, when it began moving towards them at the rate of ten miles an hour. They immediately shifted their course,

and took in all the sails, except the fore-sail; and soon after it passed by with a rustling noise, within ten yards of the stern. They did not feel the least effect from it, nor did they apprehend, though it had passed directly over them, that it could have endangered the loss of the ship, though it might have carried away one of the masts.

On the 11th and 12th of April, the vessel passed a number of low islands, the flat shores of which were covered with innumerable cocoa-nut and other trees, and the higher grounds beautifully interspersed with lawns. The natives spoke the same language as at Otaheite; at least four words out of the twenty-four did not differ. The intercourse was very amicable, and two of them could with great difficulty be prevented from staying all night, though warned of the chance that the ship might be driven away in the course of it. A young boar and sow were left with them, as they said they had none of those animals, though they were acquainted with their names.

On the 23d May, the Bounty fetched Annamooka, one of the Friendly Islands, and anchored about half a league from the shore. It was the following day, however, before some large sailing canoes came out; and an old lame man, called Tepa, was recollected as known in 1777. He informed them, that Poolaho, Feenow, and Tubow, were alive, and at Tongataboo, whence they would no doubt come to see the English, as soon as notice could be sent of their arrival. The animals and plants left here had been much better cared for than at Otaheite. The old ones were all alive, and had, moreover, multiplied their number considerably. Mr Bligh had also the satisfaction of

seeing, in a bordering plantation, about twenty-five pine-apple plants, the fruit of which, when in season, was said to have been very fine. Some bread-fruit plants were taken on board in room of others that were rather sickly. The English purchased also some hogs and fowls, and procured yams particularly large and fine, one of them weighing above forty-five pounds.

The natives crowded on board, in numbers nearly as great as at Otaheite; but the intercourse, though by no means hostile, was not on the whole so satisfactory or agreeable as on the island. The present consisted only of some bundles of cocoa-nuts, with which Mr Bligh could only put on the appearance of satisfaction. No chief was present of an authority to overawe the people, and keep down their thieving propensities; and the promise of sending notice to the chiefs of Tongataboo did not appear to be in any train of execution. A spade was taken from one of the people, and a boat's grapnel was likewise taken from the watering party. The spade was recovered, but the grapnel not being like to appear, Mr Bligh took advantage of a time when several chiefs were on board, and acquainted them, that unless the grapnel were restored, they must remain in the ship. At this declaration they showed no small alarm, as, though canoes were instantly despatched in search of the grapnel, it was observed to be impossible that it could be brought back till next day, as the thieves had immediately made off to another island. Although the commander had no reason to doubt this, or to imagine that the chiefs present were at all concerned in the theft, he yet detained them till the evening, a measure

which really seems somewhat *ultra*, and which at last affected them so deeply, that they began to cry bitterly, and beat themselves in the face and eyes. Mr Bligh, now feeling that he had gone rather too far, dismissed them with a handsome present, which caused an instant transition from deadly apprehension to the extreme of joy; and they departed with the most profuse acknowledgments.

CHAPTER II.

MUTINY—CAPTAIN BLIGH'S SITUATION—TRANSACTIONS AT TOFOA—VOYAGE TO NEW HOLLAND—TO TIMOR—RECEPTION THERE—RETURN HOME.

On the 26th, the Bounty set sail, and next day were off Tofoa, the most westerly of the Friendly Islands. The fairest prospects seemed now to be before them. They had completely fulfilled all the objects of their voyage, without any of the misfortunes, or even of the dangers, which had beset former adventurers in these distant seas. They had every security of return, and of an easy and prosperous course to their final destination. But

Oh cæcæ hominum mentes, oh pectora cæca!

A fatal train was laid, and the explosion was about to burst, which rendered all their efforts abortive, and involved them in a train of calamity unparalleled even in the disastrous annals of Southern navigation.

So secretly had matters been conducted, that Mr Bligh, down to this moment, had never entertained a suspicion that there existed in his crew a spirit of discontent, far less of mutiny, and less still of one which was about to proceed to the last extremities. One unequivocal symptom had how-

ever appeared, during his stay at Otaheite, in the desertion of three seamen, who were missing one morning with a cutter, and with eight stand of arms and ammunition. They left the cutter on shore, and made off in a sailing canoe for the island of Tethuroa. The captain instantly called upon Tinah to produce these runaways, declaring that he could not leave Otaheite without them. The Otaheitan chiefs, though pretty seriously alarmed at the idea of the fire-arms which the fugitives held, seem to have spared no pains in finding and securing them. At day-break next morning, two of them sailed for Tethuroa. The weather, however, became suddenly so boisterous, that Mr Bligh was happy to see them return, and get safe into the harbour. For a week after, the wind continued blowing so violently, that it was impossible to expect them to make the attempt; but as soon as the gale was at all abated, they failed not to set forth in fulfilment of their promise. It appears that they actually seized and bound the deserters, but were prevailed upon, by the latter solemnly promising to return peaceably to the ship, to allow them to go. The seamen, with their fire-arms, then again set the natives at defiance; but they were at last so harassed and hunted down, that they determined upon a voluntary surrender. Mr Bligh being informed that they were at Tettaha, five miles distant, repaired thither in the cutter; and having entered the house of Teppahoo, one of the chiefs, was informed that they were in another close by. They soon came up unarmed, and delivered themselves up; and no mention is made what punishment was consequently inflicted. Another incident occurred, the bearing of which was not sus-

pected at the moment. One morning after a fresh gale, the cable by which the ship rode, was found cut near the water's edge, so that only one strand remained whole. Although Mr Bligh could not in his own mind but entirely acquit Tinah and the chiefs, and his suspicions lighted only upon some strangers from the other islands, he thought it necessary, or was induced by agitation, to speak in a peremptory and angry tone, which caused the greater number to make directly for the shore. Tinah and Iddeah remained, and expostulated with him on the unreasonableness of this wrath, appealing to him whether he could possibly suspect either them or any of the natives of Matavai Bay. Though Mr Bligh could not deny the truth of this remonstrance, he continued to behave with great coldness till the following day, when Iddeah at length bursting into a flood of tears, the captain's heart at length relented, and he resumed his former cordiality, only stipulating for the strictest inquiry respecting the offenders. Nothing ever transpired which could throw the smallest light upon this mysterious affair, till after subsequent events, which led Mr Bligh to suspect that it must have been done by his own people, who, if the ship had thus been driven on shore, might, without danger or violence, have effected their purpose of remaining at Otaheite.

On the night of Monday 27th, Mr Bligh had arranged the watches, so that the morning watch fell to Fletcher Christian, master's mate, a young man of a respectable family in the north of England. Christian was now making his third voyage with Mr Bligh, who had always treated him with peculiar kindness; he had even asked him to sup-

per the evening before, from which Christian excused himself, on pretext of illness. In the morning, before day-break, while Mr Bligh was yet in bed, he felt himself seized by several men, who forcibly bound his hands very tight with a cord behind the back. It soon appeared that this was done by Christian and three of the seamen, who immediately dragged him out of bed, and hauled him up on deck in his shirt. They threatened him with instant death, if he spoke or made the least noise; notwithstanding which, Mr Bligh called with all his might for assistance; but he soon perceived that his own cabin was guarded by three men besides the four who had entered, and that sentinels were stationed at the doors of each of the officers, except those who took an active part in the mutiny. He was placed behind the mizen mast, with his hands still tied, and several seamen, with Christian at their head, kept guard over him. The boatswain and carpenter, and Mr Samuel the clerk, were allowed to come on deck; and the first of these was ordered to hoist out the launch, being told, if he did not do it instantly, "to take care of himself."

As soon as the boat was out, the mutineers began ordering down into it those officers who had taken no share with them. The commander now perceiving their aim, entreated and adjured them to desist from so atrocious a deed. While he repeated this, the mutineers were constantly crying out to him, "Hold your tongue, Sir, or you are dead this instant." At length, as he persevered, Christian caught him with a strong gripe by the cord that tied his hands, and with many oaths threatened to kill him immediately; his accom-

plices round him had their pieces cocked, and their bayonets fixed. Meantime the officers, with the faithful part of the crew, were, one after another, forced down into the boat. They were allowed, however, though not without entreaty, to carry away such articles as were necessary to save them from immediate destruction. The boatswain and seamen found means to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, and an eight-and-twenty gallon cask of water. Mr Samuel, the clerk, procured 150 pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine. That active person likewise got off the captain's journals, with some material ship-papers, also a quadrant and compass; but when he was making interest for the astronomical instruments, surveys and drawings, he was hurried away, being told, with an oath, he was well off to get what he had. Four cutlasses, some clothes and a few pieces of pork, were thrown after them into the boat. The intention seems to have been, to afford them means of preserving themselves from immediate destruction, but to admit no possibility of their effecting their return to Europe. Some of the more violent, however, swore that Bligh would find his way home, if he got any thing with him; and when the carpenter was allowed to take his tool-chest, they exclaimed with oaths, "He will have a vessel built in a month." They hesitated for some time between the carpenter himself and his two mates, but at length preferred the latter, who were kept contrary to their inclination. This was also the case with Joseph Coleman the armourer, and with two seamen, Isaac Martin and Michael Byrne.

The boat being now filled with all that part of

the crew whom the mutineers wished to get rid of Christian said, "Come, Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death." They then forced him over the side of the ship, without farther ceremony, at the same time untying his hands. The whole behaviour of Christian was like that of a distracted person, yet not without showing some signs of remorse. When Captain Bligh reproachfully reminded him of the many instances of kindness he had experienced from himself, he answered, with much emotion, "That, Captain Bligh, is the thing; I am in hell—I am in hell." The carpenters, M'Intosh and Worman, called out, after Mr Bligh was in the boat, that they were detained against their inclination. The boat was now veered astern by a rope, and the Bounty began steering westward, as if for home; but this was justly considered as a feint; since the words, "Huzza for Otaheite!" had been repeatedly heard in the course of the late operations.

There were now in the boat with the commander, only eighteen out of the forty-three of which the crew were composed; and of these not one ranked as a regular seaman. There were indeed two out of the five midshipmen, Hayward and Hallet, the other three, Haywood, Young, and Stewart, being, with Christian, the ringleaders of the mutiny. Haywood and Stewart were both of respectable parents, the one in the south of England, and the other in the Orkneys, both having hitherto borne respectable characters. A great proportion of the boat's crew consisted of officers and servants taken on board for purposes not con-

nected with navigation; Mr Wilson, the botanist, the surgeon, two cooks, the butcher, and a boy. Even the boatswain, carpenter, and sailmaker, could not be supposed to have much skill as seamen. All the able hands, those to which the steering of the vessel had as yet been solely intrusted, were with the mutineers.

Thus was Mr Bligh thrown from the most flourishing and prosperous state, and from the fairest hope of the successful and honourable fulfilment of his mission, into a condition in which even the hope of preserving life, and of returning to his native country, could be seen only across an abyss of peril. He was supported, however, even by the doubtful hope that, notwithstanding such a heavy calamity, he might one day return and satisfy his king and country of the rectitude of his conduct. He was not yet aware of all the horrors of his destiny. Placed in the midst of a group of islands, to which Captain Cook, perhaps on a somewhat superficial experiment, had given the epithet of Friendly, he might expect that, from Poulaho, and other old intimates of that great navigator, a supply of food might be obtained, and even their slender skiff put in such a state, as might give it a fair chance of measuring the awful breadth of ocean which lay before them.

In pursuance of these views, the vessel was immediately steered for Tofoa, which was in the immediate vicinity. They could not reach it, however, before dark; and, not venturing to land on the steep and rocky shore, they were obliged to keep the boat all night under lee of the island without anchorage. It was ten next morning be-

fore they discovered a cove with a stony beach. The sea ran high; but Mr Samuel, and some others, were landed to search for supplies. They ascended some steep cliffs, which afforded the only access into the country, but returned at noon with only a few quarts of water, collected in holes; neither food, nor any sufficient supply of this element, was to be found. The crew now rowed along the shore to see if any thing could be got; at last they saw some cocoa-nut trees on the top of high precipices, which, after landing with difficulty, they laboriously mounted. All that could be got, however, was twenty cocoa-nuts, which, being slung by ropes, were hauled through the surf into the boat, and, after dealing out a scanty supper, they were obliged again to sleep at sea. Next day, another party, headed by the commander himself, attempted to penetrate into the country. They were obliged to drag themselves up the precipices by long vines fastened there for that purpose. On the plain, at the top, they found only a few deserted huts, and a neglected walk of plantains, from which only three small bunches could be collected. They now entered a deep gully, evidently perforated in the rainy season by great torrents of water; yet they were only able to collect nine gallons. At the termination of this gully, they found themselves at the foot of the highest mountain in the island, at the top of which is a volcano almost constantly burning. The country round, covered with lava, exhibited the most dreary aspect, and presented nothing that could alleviate their distress. They returned exhausted and faint; and the captain himself was seized with a dizziness, which made him

almost unable to descend the precipice. The people were desired to search the rocks for some shell-fish, but could find none; so that this appeared, on the whole, as miserable a spot of land as could well be imagined.

Nothwithstanding such unfavourable experiments, Mr Bligh determined to investigate the island a little closer. If it should be found to contain only a few inhabitants, who could afford them any tolerable supplies, they might be safer than by venturing among crowds of natives, whose honesty was dubious, and by whom they might be stripped of every thing. Having found a cave in which part of the crew could pass the night safely, they set out by break of day on a different route. After suffering greatly for want of water, they came at last among some neat plantations, where they found two men, a woman, and a child. The men accompanied them back to the boat, and the intelligence spreading, others followed, till about noon, the crew found themselves surrounded by about thirty. Of these Mr Bligh endeavoured to make friends, and they maintained an honest and tractable deportment. It was a great difficulty to account to them for the absence of the ship, and it was thought most advisable to say, that it had overset and sunk, and that the boat's crew only were saved. The natives, as was expected, made eager inquiry, and appeared surprised, though it was impossible to distinguish in their faces any symptoms, either of sorrow or joy. The main object was, to procure from them as much as possible of bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and water; but their supply of these articles was so scanty, that there appeared little prospect of the crew be-

ing here provided for the long voyage before them. At sunset, all the natives departed, which appeared to indicate the absence of any hostile intention. Hopes were entertained that they would return next day with a more copious supply of the articles wanted, and the spirits of the men began to revive.

On the following morning, the natives, according to expectation, again appeared; and their numbers soon became much more considerable. Two canoes came round from the opposite side of the island, bringing with them an elderly chief, called Macca-ackavow. Soon after, there appeared a handsome chief, called Eefow, who had heard of their being at Annamooka, and made inquiries about Captain Cook and Captain Clerke. Another, of the name of Nageite, had been recently seen at Annamooka. These persons made very close inquiries as to the manner in which the ship had been lost; but their behaviour was altogether friendly. Eefow informed them that their old acquaintances, Poulaho and Feenow, were at Tongataboo, and offered to accompany them thither, if they would wait till the weather moderated.

By these communications, the minds of the English were greatly tranquillized; and they began to cherish favourable hopes, when symptoms gradually began to indicate, that this assemblage of chiefs and people had been made with purposes very little akin to these amicable professions. At length the natives made an attempt to drag the boat on shore. Mr Bligh, by brandishing his cutlass, and, by an urgent appeal to Eefow, induced them to desist. They continued, however, closely to line the beach; and nothing was heard but the

knocking of stones against each other, an experienced precursor of speedy attack. The commander, however, seeing he must fight his way through, determined to wait till sunset, as a time more favourable for that manœuvre. Meantime, he busied himself in purchasing as many provisions as possible, and getting them gradually carried out into the boat. An appearance of cordiality was still maintained with the chiefs, who frequently importuned Mr Bligh to sit down; but, being afraid that they would take the opportunity of seizing him when in that posture, he kept constantly on foot, and on his guard. The natives continued to increase in numbers; and, as evening approached, instead of showing any intention to go away, they lighted fires, and made arrangements for staying through the night. These arrangements, with the close consultations held among them, and the whole of their deportment, gave continued assurance of a hostile determination.

About sunset Captain Bligh, upon preconcerted arrangements, gave the word, when each of his officers and men took up the articles allotted to them, and carried them hastily towards the boat. The chiefs asked him if he would not stay all night; to which, thinking some dissimulation justifiable in such a case, he answered, that he never slept out of his boat, but would return next day to trade, and would remain with them till the weather became favourable for going to Tongataboo. Hereupon the chief, Macca-ackavow said, "You will not sleep on shore; then *Mattie*," (we will kill you). The knocking of stones was now heard louder than ever, and Eefow, the chief, went off, and was soon seen cheering on the people to the

attack. Mr Bligh still held Nageete by the hand, not without some project of killing him; but he too contrived to make off. The English, however, proceeded with such promptitude, that before the natives could open their volley, Mr Bligh had seen all his people into the boat, and was in himself. Only one man, disregarding the entreaties of the master and his associates, ran up to the beach to cast the sternfast off. This zeal proved fatal to him; he was knocked down by the natives, who were soon seen beating him on the head with stones till he died. The savages, to the number of about two hundred, now began pouring in showers of stones, which fell thick as hail on the unfortunate crew. Destitute of fire-arms, their appropriate weapon, the latter could maintain the conflict only by returning the stones lodged in the boat; but, unused to such a mode of contest, they could by no means throw them with the same force and exactness as the islanders, who, in this respect, surpassed every thing of which Mr Bligh could form an idea. A number of them got hold of the stern-rope, and were nearly hauling the boat on shore; but the commander having happily a knife in his pocket, cut the rope, whereupon those on board made off, and pulled to sea. The natives filled their canoes with stones, and pushed after them, continuing their vollies with such effect, that there was scarcely a man on board who was not disabled. The boat was so lumbered that it was impossible for them to attempt boarding the enemy, and the only expedient they could adopt was to throw overboard some clothes, which the natives stopped to pick up, and were thus delayed till it

became almost dark. They then gave up the attack, and returned to the shore.

After such a specimen, there appeared very little encouragement to attempt any of the other islands, even those whose former intercourse with the British had procured for them the epithet of Friendly. This friendship, it appeared, had been essentially cemented by the dread of fire-arms; and when this was withdrawn, had been succeeded by behaviour of the most opposite description. There appeared too much reason to fear, that if they should present themselves in their present defenceless attitude, they would either be attacked and massacred, or at least be stripped of every thing they had, and thereby deprived of all resource for finding their way to England. At the same time, all hands on board earnestly entreated to have their faces turned homeward. Under the influence of these different motives, Mr Bligh turned the prow of his boat westward, and bore away into the heart of the Pacific.

The undertaking on which they now entered, was of a character the most terrible, perhaps, of any recorded in the annals of navigation. In this little boat, calculated only for communicating between the vessel and the shore, or for navigating rivers and narrow seas, they were to plunge into the abyss of that mighty ocean which had swallowed up vessels the largest and best appointed, and guided by the most eminent of modern navigators. They had no prospect of any coast at which they could land with safety, till they came to the Dutch settlement of Timor, at a distance of two thousand four hundred miles. The boat was only twenty-three feet from stem to stern, within which li-

mits were squeezed together eighteen men, without power to stretch themselves out, or make the least movement. It was an open boat, without any thing to prevent the waves of the Pacific from dashing continually over them, and at the same time from filling the already overladen boat to a degree which rendered the baling out of the water a constant and most laborious operation. If tempest was succeeded by fine weather, they were exposed without shelter to the fiercest blaze of an equatorial sun, whose influence was terrible even to a strong European constitution. At the same time, the supply of provision and refreshment was such, that instead of promising to afford strength to meet such accumulated toils and evils, it could scarcely be made sufficient to keep alive the faintest spark of life during so long and fearful a voyage.

Even under circumstances so awful, the strong mind of the commander, and the characteristic hardihood of British seamen, did not sink. Mr Bligh coolly laid before his crew the measures by which alone they could hope to achieve such a navigation. They had only 150 pounds of bread, 20 pounds of pork, 3 bottles of wine, and 5 quarts of rum; and there was no certainty, or even probability, of obtaining more at any of the savage shores which they might pass on their route. He represented, that there could be no assurance of this stock lasting, unless they would confine themselves to an ounce of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, in the day; and he exacted their solemn promise that they would remain satisfied with this scanty portion. The pork was to be dealt out in small occasional lots, at the commander's discre-

tion; while the rum and wine were to be kept in reserve, for extraordinary emergencies.

About eight o'clock in the night of Saturday the 2d of May, the boat began its course to the westward. As soon as they had got it into a little order, and divided the people into watches, they returned thanks to God for their miraculous preservation; and fully confident of his gracious support, Mr Bligh found his mind more at ease than it had been for some time past.

The evils to be apprehended were not long of arriving. The sun rose fiery and red, a sure indication of high wind. Accordingly, at eight, it blew a violent storm. The sea ran so high, that between the waves they were becalmed, while on the top they were found to be carrying too much sail. They were obliged to keep baling with all their might, to prevent the boat from being filled with water. At the same time, their bread being in bags, was in danger of being spoiled. To be starved to death was inevitable, if this could not be prevented. Happily the carpenter had a good chest, in which a great part of it was secured at the first favourable moment; and his tools being placed in the bottom of the boat, the tool-chest became disposable for the same purpose. The clothes were at the same time examined, and, retaining only two suits for each person, the rest were thrown overboard, along with what ropes and sails could be spared, by which the boat was considerably lightened. Some bread-fruit which had been almost trampled to pieces in the late confusion, was collected, and, though scarcely eatable, was made to serve the first dinner. In the

afternoon, the sea ran higher than ever, and the fatigue of baling became excessive. They could only move directly before the waves, as any attempt to oppose them would have caused the boat to fill immediately. Not the least of their hardships was the being constantly drenched with brine; and by daylight next morning, their limbs were almost completely benumbed. Great benefit was, however, found from a teaspoonful of rum administered to each person.

On Monday, just before noon, as they pursued a W. NW. course, a small flat island was discovered, and before three o'clock, there were eight islands in sight. These, which were now for the first time surveyed by Europeans, appear to be the Feejee islands, described by the inhabitants of Annamooka as lying in this direction. In the course of the following day, new islands were continually discovered, some of them not less than eighteen leagues in circuit. Their aspect was hilly, in some places rocky, and in others wooded, but generally very fertile; and perhaps, had they landed, they might have experienced that generous hospitality, which mariners in distress have so often found, even on savage shores. But the impressions of dread and distrust were still recent; and the character drawn at Otaheite of the Feejee islands, tinted perhaps with the hues of natural antipathy, had been of the most gloomy description. It appeared therefore too deep a hazard, to throw themselves, in their utterly defenceless state, upon the mercy of such a race.

After having been driven for two days before so fearful a tempest, the weather, on the night of Monday, became more favourable. They en-

joyed tolerable rest during the night, and in the morning a considerable revival of spirits appeared to have taken place. They now applied themselves to make such arrangements for personal comfort, and for the prosecution of the voyage, as their miserable circumstances admitted. They had hitherto been unable to keep any account of their course; but now they got a long line marked, and being practised at counting seconds, they generally could do it with some degree of exactness. As their dreadfully crowded state was almost incompatible with any measure of sleep, they divided themselves into two equal companies, one of whom sat up, while the other found such sleeping place as they could, on the benches, or in the bottom of the boat, with nothing to cover them but the heavens. Two or three days made an end of their fragments of damaged bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts; and it then behoved them to come upon their final allowance. The distribution was at first made in some degree at random; but as they found in the bottom of the boat some pistol balls, twenty-five of which weighed a pound, it was fixed that the weight of one of these balls should be given three times a day, for breakfast, dinner and supper, which, after all, exceeded the original stipulation. The commander, at the same time, amused his people by descriptions of the coast of Guinea and New Holland, and by giving them such directions as might enable them, in case of his not surviving, to steer their own course.

On Thursday, at noon, as they passed along an island distinguished by peculiarly high and rocky shores, they observed two large sailing canoes following with all the speed of which they were ca-

pable, and one of them even gaining upon the boat! They rowed with all their might, and with considerable anxiety, on reflecting upon their weak and helpless state. The chase continued till about three, when the foremost canoe, after approaching within two miles of them, gave up. These canoes, from their sails, appeared to be of the same construction as those at the Friendly Islands. At four next morning, a heavy rain came on, which was so far auspicious, that it enabled them, for the first time since being at sea, thoroughly to quench their thirst; but on the other hand, being drenched, and having nothing dry to shift with, they suffered severe cold and shiverings during the rest of the night. Happily, the next morning proved fair, when they shifted and dried their clothes, and having received a tea-spoonful of rum each, they got into tolerable warmth. On Thursday, they passed fourteen or sixteen islands, a continuation of the former group. Some of them were very large, having thirty or forty leagues of sea-coast.

Notwithstanding the severity of the gales, their direction had been on the whole favourable; so that on Saturday, a week after their departure, they had cleared nearly nine degrees of longitude, or seven hundred miles, west from Tofoa. That night they had a prodigious fall of rain, accompanied with severe thunder and lightning. A teaspoonful of rum was served round, but did not prevent them from passing a miserable night, it being impossible to sleep while exposed to the continual battering of the wind and rain. The day ought no relief but its light. About noon the in abated, but it continued still very squally, th a high breaking sea. Their situation became

dangerous, from the waves bursting with such force over the stern, that the most constant baling could scarcely keep the boat from being filled.

At noon, on Monday, they were delighted with a view of the sun; but it again rained hard, and they had another dreadful night. The morning showed a miserable set of beings, full of wants, without any thing to relieve them. Almost every one complained of having lost the use of his limbs, and some had severe pains in the bowels. At dawn, a spoonful of rum somewhat revived them. The day, however, continuing wet, they had no resource but to strip their clothes, and wring them through the salt water; after which, they by no means caused the same chilling cold as when wet with rain.

Wednesday and Thursday the same gloomy scene continued. On Thursday, at six in the morning, they saw land, which soon proved to be four islands, all high and conspicuous, and one much larger than the others. About noon two more were discovered. The largest was judged to be about twenty leagues in circuit, the others five or six. It was at first supposed they might have been part of the New Hebrides; but it was afterwards ascertained that they were a new discovery, to which Mr Bligh was entitled to affix his name. The view, on these islands, of fertile fields, and smoke rising at different points, augmented, by contrast, the misery of their situation, when, with such plenty in sight, they were little better than perishing. The weather continued as dreadful as ever; the nights dark, without a star to steer by, and the sea breaking continually over them. The direction of the wind, however, con-

tinued generally favourable; and, at the end of the second week, they made 19° 27′, or about 1300 miles longitude from Tofoa.

As the winds, however, whose career they were generally obliged to obey, bore them some what towards the north-west, every remission of their violence was employed in working the boat as far south as possible. The object of this was to avoid coming upon the coast of New Guinea, which would have been a bar to their further progress, and to reach that of New Holland.

On Sunday, the 17th, every one was complaining bitterly, and soliciting extra allowance, which yet prudence dictated the necessity of withholding. Only, when the nights were particularly dark and distressing, a tea-spoonful or two of rum was served round to each person. Sunday night was particularly dismal; the sea constantly breaking over them, and nothing but the winds and waves to direct their steerage. On Monday morning the rain abated; and, by wringing their clothes through the sea water, they obtained some refreshment. Though all the crew complained of violent pain in their bones, none of them were yet laid up. In the night they had again very bad weather, with constant and heavy rain, which continued on Tuesday and Wednesday without intermission. The little sleep they got was in the midst of water; and they constantly awoke with severe cramps and pains in the bones. At dawn, on Wednesday, appearances were horrible; some of the people seemed half dead; and it was impossible for the captain to turn his eye in any direction, without meeting an object in distress. In this extremity, two tea-spoonfuls of rum were served round, which,

with the sun appearing at noon, made their spirits somewhat revive. In the afternoon, however, all their evils returned; and they were so covered with rain and salt water, that they could scarcely see. They viewed with dread the approach of night, which accordingly fulfilled their gloomiest anticipations. About two o'clock they were overwhelmed with such a deluge of rain, that they were afraid it would sink the boat, and were obliged to keep baling it out with all their might. In their utmost distress, the captain came forward with a larger allowance of rum. Amid all this rain, they could make no addition to their stock of water, on account of the salt spray being constantly mixed with it.

On Friday, the 22d, their situation was as calamitous as ever, a high gale blowing from the E. S. E. and the foam running over their deck and quarters. They were obliged to keep right before the course of the sea, watching it with the utmost care, as the least deviation might have been their destruction. The misery of next night exceeded that of all which had preceded it. The sea broke furiously over them, and, overwhelmed with horror and anxiety, they were obliged, even in their exhausted state, to bale incessantly. At dawn their situation was such, as made Mr Bligh seriously apprehend that great part of the crew would not outlive such another. Providentially, in this utmost pitch of calamity, a sudden light broke in. About noon the rain ceased; the wind then continued equally high; but in the evening it also moderated, and the general aspect of the weather became much more favourable. Joy filled the hearts of the crew at this sudden change from the

deepest distress, though it were only to a more moderate degree of suffering; for they were obliged to spend the night in their wet clothes. In the morning, however, they felt the reviving warmth of the sun, in whose benignant rays they hung up their clothes to dry, and were thus restored to a tolerable state of personal comfort.

At the end of this week, the longitude made was found to be 31° 32′ about 2000 miles west from Tofoa. Mr Bligh took advantage of the present interval of tranquillity, to consider generally and seriously the situation and prospects of the voyage. By the present distribution, he had food for twenty-nine days, which, according to fair expection, might suffice for their reaching Timor. But as it was impossible to foresee all the vicissitudes which might retard their progress, and as they might fail even of a reception at Timor, and be obliged to go on to Batavia, he judged it necessary to lengthen the time, by cutting off one third from their present miserable pittance of daily bread. He dreaded a violent resistance on the part of the crew, and that some would consider it as robbing them of life; but he represented so forcibly the necessity of guarding against delays, the dreadful alternative of running out, promising at the same time to enlarge again as they got on well, that he obtained from them at last a cheerful acquiescence.

Other favourable circumstances now attended the voyage. In the vicinity of the boat were seen flights of boobies and noddies, birds whose appearance always denotes the existence of land at no very great distance. They possessed another happy attribute, that of attaching themselves to the masts and yards of ships where they could be easi-

ly caught, even by the hand. On Monday the 25th they caught a noddy. This prize, which is about the bulk of a small pigeon, was cut into eighteen lots by the maritime usage of "Who shall have this?" One man turning his back, another points to the portion, and puts the question aforesaid, when the man with his back turned names successively the different members of the crew, of whom each has an equal chance of getting the best. In the evening they caught a booby, which is about the size of a duck, and, being similarly divided, made what was accounted an excellent supper. Next morning, they caught another booby, so that Providence seemed to be supplying their wants in an extraordinary manner. They now saw passing several pieces of drift wood, among which were branches of trees, which did not appear to have been long in the water. These were symptoms that the boat was approaching to a line of coast, which Mr Bligh did not hesitate to pronounce to be the reefs of New Holland, the arrival at which would form a grand and auspicious era in their voyage. On Wednesday the 27th they had caught two boobies, with fishes in their stomach; which, being divided for dinner, every one thought he had feasted. In the evening a gannet was seen, and fresh symptoms continuing to indicate land, the thoughts and conversations of the sailors were entirely occupied in conjectures, as to what they would find. At one in the morning, the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers; and the captain being awake, saw them close under the boat's lee, at the distance of not more than a quarter of a mile. A direction was immediately given to the boat, by which it cleared the breakers, and

a general joy prevailed, not only at having reached so important a point in the voyage, but at the prospect of getting into smooth water, and it might be hoped of obtaining refreshments. Next morning no coast was to be seen till nine o'clock, when a long line of reefs appeared, with the sea breaking furiously over every point. Within, however, they enjoyed the long unwonted spectacle of smooth waters. This object did not a little cheer them; but as yet, the wind being at east, they could only lie along the line of breakers, without being able to discover any opening by which they could enter. Their situation was not very agreeable; the sea set in heavy towards the reef, and they had scarcely strength to pull the oars. There began to appear no alternative but the hazardous one of pushing across the breakers, when at about a mile's distance an opening was discovered. They soon reached it, and entered the passage, with a strong stream running to the westward, and in a short time were in smooth water, and on the coast of New Holland.

The object was now to find a convenient landing place, and a spot where they might not be exposed to molestation from the natives, whoever they might be. In this last view, a small island appeared to be the most secure, and two such appeared at the distance of about four miles. The nearest proved only a heap of stones; but the other was about a league in circuit, and the rocks and stones which composed it were covered with small trees. Having found, therefore, a bay, with a fine sandy point, about a quarter of a mile distant from the main land, they immediately landed. The grand question was, whether there was any food; it

was a question almost of life or death. Happily they were not long of discovering on the rocks oysters, which were well sized and good; but as it was nearly dark, few could be gathered that night. Although there were old fire-places, nothing led them to apprehend an immediate visit from the natives. They divided the company into two, one of which slept on shore, an arrangement attended with immense relief, as they could now stretch themselves at ease, without being cramped and confined in the former narrow space.

Next day, being Friday the 29th, the party arose at dawn, and, though very weak, found their courage and spirits greatly revived. None of the natives appearing, parties were sent out in search of supplies. To their great joy, they found plenty of oysters, fixed indeed so hard to the rock, that they could scarcely be separated; but this difficulty they got over by opening them on the spot. Finding a place where the growth of some wire grass indicated moisture, they thrust in a stick about three feet deep, when good water came out, and without much trouble a well was dug, which yielded as much as their occasions required. Another fortunate incident was, that among the things thrown into the boat they found a tinder-box, which secured fire, while some one had been so provident as to bring off a copper pot; so that now they had all the means as well as materials of cooking. That they might have a thorough good meal for once, Mr Bligh gave up part of the little remaining pork, and, with the addition of a little bread, they made a stew, capable of gratifying the palates of those whose food was not seasoned by so dreadful a hunger. Of this mess, a full pint was distributed to

each man. Mr Bligh had warned the company against touching any fruit or berry, lest any of them should be poisonous. In spite of this warning, having found one which resembled a gooseberry, another like an elderberry, and a third black, like a large sloe, they all began to pluck; and some who indulged more largely than the rest, found themselves soon after seriously disordered; a circumstance which struck a mortal panic into the whole party. It luckily proved that these sinister effects had arisen merely from eating too largely. Those who observed due moderation, and the others after their indigestion had gone off, found themselves quite sound, and after Mr Bligh had observed that these berries were eaten by the birds, he ceased to regard them with any apprehension.

In continuing to traverse the island, they found additional proofs of its being frequented by the natives—two rude huts or wigwams, and a pointed stick for slinging stones. The track of a kangaroo was also noticed; some palm-trees were found, the soft exterior part of which proved very palatable, and made a welcome addition to their stew. They had this night a hearty supper, a full pint and half being allowed to each. In consequence of these two good meals, there appeared next morning a visible alteration for the better; but, after allowing an equally hearty dinner, and causing as large a stock as possible of oysters to be collected, Mr Bligh determined to set sail in the afternoon. Just as they were ready for sea, there appeared on the opposite shore about twenty natives, armed with spears or lances. They ran, hallooed, and, by signs, invited the English to come on shore. Behind the hills, in the back ground, were seen the

heads of many more; but whether women and children, or companions lying in ambush, could not be exactly discerned. Be this as it might, the English paused not in making the best of their way off; fearful not only of hostile proceedings on land, but of being pursued by canoes, in case (and the contrary was not certain) of the natives having any fit for that purpose.

Next day, the 31st, they passed along a low sandy coast, with very little verdure, and appearing scarcely habitable. On their right was a chain of small islands, some of which were very pretty spots covered with wood, and their coasts frequented by large shoals of fish, none of which, however, they were able to catch. In this passage, they saw another party of seven Indians, who came down with similar shouts and invitations, and waving green branches of the bushes in token of friendship; but as some of their movements wore a suspicious aspect, and a larger body appeared behind, it was determined not to expose themselves to hazard for the sake of any benefit or satisfaction which might have been derived from their friendly intercourse. Like those formerly seen, they were black, with short bushy hair or wool, and stark naked.

In the course of the day, having found a somewhat high island, with good landing, they went on shore to search for supplies. Here, however, according to the too common law of our nature, that orderly and submissive conduct which had been adhered to while adversity pressed hard upon them, was interrupted by the present gleam of prosperity. Several of the people declared they would rather

want their dinner, than be at so much trouble in searching for it; and one of them went to such a pitch of mutiny as to tell the captain, "he was as good a man as himself." Mr Bligh, conceiving this precedent so evil, that it must be put down at all hazards, and perhaps inflamed by passion, drew a cutlass, ordering the man to take another, and defend himself. The man, seeing matters at this extremity, immediately made his submission, and a pardon being vouchsafed, tranquillity and subordination were at once restored.

At noon the parties returned with some fine oysters, clams, and a few small dog-fish; but, as the island was not found to produce more than was sufficient for daily use, there appeared no advantage in remaining upon it. Besides, some alarm was given by the view of an old canoe, lying bottom upwards, thirty-three feet long, and three broad, having its prow rudely carved like the head of a fish, and capable, apparently, of containing twenty men. Pursuit, by vessels of such a description, might have been very serious; and it was determined to retreat to the most remote of the small islands or *keys*, which were now in sight. After dining, therefore, on a full pint and a half each of stewed oysters and clams, thickened with small beans, described by the botanist as a species of *dolichos*, they made for the above spot. They did not arrive till nearly dark, when they found the coast so bordered with a reef of rocks, as made it impossible to land without risk of staving the boat; and they were obliged to spend the night on board.

Next morning, June 1st, the boat was brought to the shore; but the wind being fresh, and the

bottom too rocky for a grapnel, they were obliged to track it aground, to prevent the hazard of its being blown out to sea. This island seemed to afford a fairer prospect of supplies than any yet visited; since, besides the chances of shell-fish, recent tracks of turtle were espied, and flights of noddies, filling the air, seemed to have made this their resting place. Notwithstanding this promise, the result was, that all they caught in the course of the day, amounted to twelve noddies and a few clams. Mr Bligh imputes this failure to much indiscretion on the part of his people. He had given strict orders to kindle only small fires, and in covert positions, so as to avoid advising the natives of strangers being on the spot. A man, however, belonging to one of the parties, insisted on having a fire to himself, and managed it so carelessly, that it was communicated to the grass, and the whole island appeared soon in a blaze. The noise and confusion occasioned by this fire, and the efforts to extinguish it, caused all the turtles to retire to their caves. Another man separated from his companions, and ran about in so indiscreet a manner, that he frightened the noddies; an imprudence which so provoked the captain, that he gave him a sound beating. Meantime, a serious alarm arose on the subject of the dolichos; many of the people who had eaten of it being affected with unusual and painful symptoms, which they ascribed to poisonous qualities in the vegetable. The sequel soon showed that these evils were solely imputable to the enormous quantities which some of them had eaten raw; but they were thus deterred from mixing it in their stew, to which it had formed a savoury addition.

On Tuesday the 2d, they set sail from this island, with a few clams and their dozen of neddies, which they had half dressed, that they might keep the longer. Soon after setting out, they felt a heavy swell coming in upon them, which Mr Bligh concluded to be the waves of the great ocean, in which their frail bark must speedily again be launched. They had still in their sight a succession of keys or small islands, and on their left a hilly coast, like downs, sloping towards the sea. Six birds were divided for dinner; but unfortunately the gunner's watch, which had hitherto been their guide as to the succession of time, stopped, and they had henceforth only the position of the sun to calculate by. At five o'clock, they passed a large and fair inlet, and soon after came to an island, which afforded a good sandy point for landing. A party which went to see if any thing could be got, saw the ground strewed with a number of turtle bones and shells, on the contents of which the natives had recently feasted; but they failed entirely in the attempt to procure a single turtle.

On Wednesday the 3d, they again set sail, and, after proceeding some leagues, came to an extensive opening in the mainland, in which were a number of high islands. The most distant was of some magnitude, and mountainous, having a very elevated round hill in the centre. The coast here is high and woody, with a broken appearance, and apparently fine bays and harbours. It was now seen stretching west and south-west, tending more and more to confirm their approach to the ocean; and Mr Bligh began to anticipate that, before evening, they would bid adieu to the coasts of

New Holland. Accordingly, after passing some large sand-banks that ran out from the sea-shore, and to the most southern of which they gave the name of Shoal Cape, they found they had left to the eastward all the islands through which they had been sailing, and that the coast was stretching away from them to the south-east; while in front only a small solitary island broke the immense expanse of the ocean which lay before them.

The six days which the crew had sailed along this coast, had undoubtedly been the means of saving their lives. During that period, they had enjoyed rest, smooth sailing, and a tolerable allowance of food. The situation, however, in which they again plunged into the ocean, was sufficiently miserable. The recent relief had rather suspended the rapid decline of their health and vigour, than furnished them out with a new stock. Not only their strength was reduced, but diseases, the result of long fasting and hardship, began to be felt. Headach, sickness, pain in the stomach or bowels, and tenesmus, occasioned by the want of the usual evacuations, gave rise, in all of them, to severe complaint. However, their spirits were recruited by rest, and buoyed up by the sanguine hope that, in eight or ten days, they would again reach the confines of the civilized world, and find a period to their sufferings. They set out, therefore, with tolerable vigour and briskness on this new branch of their voyage. They had still a remnant of oysters and clams, which were sparingly served out to dinner for two or three days; and they caught occasionally a booby, and once a small dolphin. Mr Bligh, in hope of a not distant termi-

nation of the voyage, renewed the allowance of the 25th.

Notwithstanding this promising outset, this part of the voyage began soon to wear a gloomy aspect. In a few days, the continued pressure of evils that were too much for human endurance, began to tell heavily upon them. The sea ran high, and the waves continually breaking over the boat, kept them miserably wet and cold, while the labour of baling was too much for their present weak condition. On Sunday the 7th, a general sinking was observed in the crew. Mr Ledward, the surgeon, and Laurence Lebogue, sailmaker, an old hardy seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast, and were only kept up by an occasional tea-spoonful or two of wine, which Mr Bligh had kept in reserve. Monday and Tuesday, water continued to be shipped, and there was much complaining, the truth of which was too well confirmed by the captain's own feelings. On Wednesday morning, there was a visible and alarming alteration for the worse. Extreme weakness, swelled legs, unusual inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed in many the melancholy precursors of approaching dissolution. Mr Bligh himself was told, that he looked worse than any one in the boat. One hope alone supported them. From the course which they had run, it appeared impossible that they could be very distant from the point, fondly anticipated as the termination of so many miseries. In the afternoon, birds and wooden branches gave signs of land; but Mr Bligh durst not allow himself to be too sanguine, as there were some islands between New Guinea and Timor. They served, however, to

enliven their drooping spirits; and next day, at noon, they could make an observation of the longitude, which appeared to indicate their having now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor. This discovery filled every heart with joy and expectation; and they continued all with their eyes intensely fixed on the quarter in which the land ought to be situated. Evening fell without their seeing any thing except the expanse of the waves; but next morning, by the earliest dawn, a cultivated coast, finely diversified with hill and dale, appeared stretching in wide extent before them. This was Timor. At this blessed sight, all the feelings with which their minds had been racked, gave way to those of intense and inexpressible delight. In this tumult of joy, their thoughts rapidly reverted to the varied events of their fearful passage; and it appeared to themselves incredible, that, in this little bark, and under circumstances every way so calamitous, they should have traversed nearly four thousand miles of ocean, without the loss of a single man.

The crew, who considered their safety as now beyond the reach of every vicissitude, were eager to land without delay at the nearest shore. But Mr Bligh wisely considered, that the Dutch were in possession of only a corner of this large island; and that, by landing too hastily, they might fall among people as perilous to deal with as any of the savage tribes from whom they had escaped. The shore presented a pleasing and beautiful aspect, with many cultivated spots, flat near the sea, but rising in the interior into wooded hills. He directed his course to the south-west part of the island, in which, according to a somewhat vague re-

collection, he understood the Dutch settlement to be situated. They passed along a coast covered with palm trees, of that species called the fan-palm, from the leaf spreading like a fan. They afterwards came to a more open district, where smoke was rising in different places, and the inhabitants were seen clearing and cultivating their grounds. Night fell, however, without their discovering any appearance of a settlement, or any point at which a landing appeared eligible.

Next morning, Saturday 3d, they continued their voyage, still with the same result. The master and carpenter importuned Mr Bligh to allow them to go on shore, and search for supplies; but when they at last obtained leave to do so, their own courage failed, and they remained on board. About two o'clock, after running through a very dangerous breaking sea, they came to a spacious bay or sound, with a fair entrance, which appeared to afford so eligible a station for shipping, that hopes were conceived the European settlement might be found within it. At the same time, a hut, a dog, and some cattle being seen in a sandy bay, which afforded convenient landing, the boatswain and gunner ventured on shore. They were not long gone when they were seen returning, accompanied by five of the natives, apparently on the most amicable footing. The men had met with a kind and hospitable reception, particularly from the female members of two families who resided there. These people informed them, that the residence of the governor was at a place called Coupang, at some distance to the north-east; and one of them undertook to go into the boat, and show them the way. They now pressed on with full sail, and, as

the wind died away, took to the oars, at which, beyond expectation, they were able to do something. They were not so near as they had imagined; for the supposed bay proved to be a mere strait between an island and the main. At ten o'clock they came to a grapnel, and, for the first time, double allowance of bread and a little wine was issued to each person.

Next morning, "after the most happy and sweet sleep that ever men enjoyed," they found themselves clear of the island, and with an open sea to the west, but no symptom yet appeared of the place for which they were in search. Soon after, however, the report of two cannons came rolling along the water; and this first sound, indicative of European existence, electrified them with joy. Shortly, two square-rigged vessels and a cutter appeared at anchor. All their spirits were now up, and they eagerly hastened to the point, which could no longer be at any great distance. In this propitious moment, they were crossed by an adverse gale, and, having in vain attempted to use their sails, and losing ground at every tack, they were obliged to summon all their remaining strength to reach the place by rowing. At four o'clock they rested, and had an allowance of bread and wine served out to them; after which they resumed their oars, and were obliged to ply at them during the whole of that night. In the morning, by the first dawn, they descried, immediately opposite, on the shore, the small fort and town of Coupang.

Although confident of now meeting with shelter and humane treatment, the captain did not judge it expedient to attempt landing, unless according to the requisite formalities. Two or three small

flags, which happened to be in the boat, were patched together, and hoisted up as a signal of distress. It was not long before a soldier hailed them to land. Mr Bligh immediately obeyed the signal, and was agreeably surprised to find an English sailor, who told him that he belonged to a Dutch vessel in the road, the commander of which, Captain Spikerman, was the second person in the town. Mr Bligh, being immediately conducted to that officer, informed him of the disasters which had befallen his crew, and their distressed state. Spikerman received him with the greatest humanity, and, while he himself went to inform the governor, desired that they should be conducted to his own house, where a comfortable breakfast would be prepared for them.

After these satisfactory arrangements, Mr Bligh hastened to the boat, and desired his people to land; which, notwithstanding the joyful elevation of their spirits, many of them were unable to do without help. "The abilities," says Mr Bligh, "of a painter, perhaps, could seldom have been displayed to more advantage, than in the delineation of the two groups of figures, which at this time presented themselves to each other. An indifferent spectator would have been at a loss which most to admire; the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones; our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags: in this condition, with the tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Ti-

mor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity."

Mr Bligh was not long of seeing the governor, who showed himself animated by every humane and sympathizing feeling. He declared, that however sorry for the calamity which had befallen them, he considered it the greatest blessing of his life, that an opportunity should be given him to afford them shelter and protection. Unfortunately, his ill health was so extreme, that he could not perform in person the services he desired, but he devolved them, in full confidence of their being faithfully performed, on Mr Wanjon his son-in-law, and the second in command. The latter accordingly spared no pains for this purpose. The place was small and filled, so that it was difficult to find accommodation; but the only empty house was assigned to Mr Bligh, and for his people he was offered either the hospital, or Captain Spikerman's vessel. Mr Bligh, however, on examining his own premises, found, that by taking only one apartment to himself, he could find room for the whole party. A plentiful dinner was then set before them, of which he thinks few in such a situation could have partaken with greater moderation. For himself, he felt greater want of rest than of food; and yet, when he retired to bed, he was unable to close his eyes. His mind was involuntarily held in a state of pleasing agitation, as he revolved the awful train of adventure through which he had passed; his happiness, in having been the means of saving from death eighteen of his fellow-creatures; and, above all, the thanks due to Almighty God, who had given them power to support such heavy calamities.

"When I reflect," says he, "how providentially our lives were saved at Tofoa, by the Indians delaying their attack; and that, with scarce any thing to support life, we crossed a sea of more than 1200 leagues, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather; when I reflect that, in an open boat, with so much stormy weather, we escaped foundering; that not any of us were taken off by disease; that we had the great good fortune to pass the unfriendly natives of other countries without accident, and at last happily to meet with the most friendly and best of people to relieve our distresses; I say, when I reflect on all these wonderful escapes, the remembrance of such great mercies enables me to bear, with resignation and cheerfulness, the failure of an expedition, the success of which I had so much at heart, and which was frustrated at a time when I was congratulating myself on the fairest prospect of being able to complete it in a manner that would fully have answered the intention of his Majesty, and the humane promoters of so benevolent a plan."

The English remained at Coupang from the middle of June to the 20th of August, and met with continued care and attention, till their health was tolerably recruited. Being then supplied by the governor with money to purchase a vessel, they set sail for Batavia. There was nothing particularly hospitable in their reception there; and as the vessels going to Europe were full, or nearly so, they were reduced, after some delay, to go home in small detachments. Mr Bligh, for want of the means of conveyance to Europe, was forced, with much regret, to sell the little bark in which he had crossed the Pacific. It would have been

with particular pleasure that we should have closed this relation by stating, that every one of these unfortunate sufferers reached in safety their native country. It is painful to add, that diseases, of which the foundation had been laid during the voyage, were so aggravated by the pestilential climate of Batavia, as to render its abode fatal to several. Nelson, the gardener, a person of great merit, and who had already made the circuit of the world with Captain Cook, had died of an inflammatory fever at Coupang. Three died at Batavia; one on the voyage home, and Mr Ledward the surgeon had not been heard of when the narrative was written. Twelve, however, by different conveyances, reached in safety their native country.

CHAPTER III.

EQUIPMENT OF THE PANDORA FRIGATE—VOYAGE TO OTAHEITE—CAPTURE OF PART OF THE MUTINEERS—THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS—VOYAGE HOMEWARDS — SHIPWRECK — ARRIVAL AT TIMOR—AT BATAVIA.

THE relation of the sufferings of Captain Bligh and his crew filled all England with the deepest sympathy, as well as horror of the crime by which they had been plunged into so dreadful a situation. The Admiralty, in particular, judged that all naval discipline was at an end, if its perpetrators were allowed to escape with impunity. It was determined, with all convenient expedition, to equip the Pandora frigate, and send it out, for the purpose of apprehending the mutineers. This ship, mounting twenty-four guns, and having on board a hundred and sixty men, was put under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, and appointed to sail on the 10th August 1790. Captain Edwards was also instructed to survey the Straits of Endeavour, with a view to facilitate the passage to Botany Bay. George Hamilton, the surgeon, has written an account of the voyage, which proved eventful, in a strange, droll, rhodomontade, unlicensed style, but not without some feeling and some humour.

The voyage began rather gloomily; for the crew having been hastily put together, an infectious fever existed among them, which soon spread, and thirty-five men were at one time confined to bed. Great inconvenience was now found, from the care which had been taken to cram them with provisions and stores; so that "they had to eat a hole in their bread before they could find room to lie down." In this sickly and lumbered state they got the alarm of a Spanish frigate bearing down upon them, and had to clear the vessel for action. It proved to be "his Majesty's good ship Shark;" but these useless preparations to fight much deranged their interior economy.

The ship touched first at Santa Cruz, and then at Rio Janeiro. Captain Edwards was here invited to land and wait on the governor, which he agreed to do, on assurance that his boat should not be boarded. The palace of the viceroy was much admired, and its decorations seem really to have been very interesting. On the ceiling of one apartment were represented all the quadrupeds peculiar to South America; in another, all the fishes; and in a third, the birds, with all their elegant variety of plumage: shell-work interspersed showed the conchology; so that there was here introduced a display of the whole natural history of the continent. On the pannels were also represented the varied forms of its industry, the production of rice, sugar, indigo, and what the author calls the "diamond fishery," but of course must mean the working of the diamond mines. Intrigue at Rio Janeiro was easy, but dangerous, on account of the familiar use of the stiletto. Trade was greatly cramped; and notwithstanding the liberality of Nature,

the people were generally poor, and inclined to revolution. Indeed, during their stay a conspiracy was discovered, having that for its object, and a number of the principal people were thrown into prison.

Their voyage round America was diversified by few incidents, as they happily weathered Cape Horn without experiencing the tempests by which it is so frequently environed. Mr Hamilton here takes occasion to make some remarks on the diet of seamen in long voyages. Sour crout he accounts the grand antiscorbutic. A cask of it was kept open for the sailors to eat as much as they pleased, and it was preferred by them as a sallad to recent vegetables. Essence of malt afforded a delightful beverage, and needed only a little hops to make excellent strong beer. Cocoa was also of the greatest benefit, as a nourishing article of diet; indeed, he considers it ultimately as standing alone in this respect; "for, what can in reason be expected from beef or pork, after it has been salted a year or two?" He recommends also wheat ground in a mill, and mixed with brown sugar, in preference to peas; also soft bread for the sick and convalescent, rather than biscuit; and the grain can be kept better, and in less room, in the shape of flour, than in any other.

The voyage proceeding thus prosperously, on the 23d March they came to anchor in Matavai Bay. As soon as dawn exhibited them to the natives on shore, the latter came paddling out, embraced and saluted them with expressions of a joy approaching to madness. Prompt inquiry being made after the mutineers, it was stated, that Christian with nine companions had, a considerable time

ago, departed from the island in the Bounty, it was not known for what destination, and had never since been heard of. The rest, with the view, probably, of avoiding the immediate contact of Europeans, had settled in the north-west part of the island, where they had married some of the daughters of the chiefs, who had always shown an extreme partiality in favour of Europeans. One of them, Churchill, having married an Otaheitean heiress, whose father had died, he had succeeded to the rank of chief, in virtue of the Otaheitean laws, but afterwards engaged in a quarrel with another of the name of Thomson, by whom he was killed. Thomson, in revenge, was killed by the natives. The rest were still alive. Lieutenants Hayward and Corner, with twenty-six men, were immediately despatched with the launch and pinnace to the part of the island in which the mutineers were settled. Soon after, Joseph Coleman, the armourer of the Bounty, who, as formerly mentioned, had been detained by force, came on board, and was soon followed by the two midshipmen, and by Richard Skinner. They were not long of receiving a visit from their Otaheitean majesties, who behaved with more dignity than formerly, as at this first visit they refused all presents, though their attendants made ample amends. Iddeah being now about thirty, and somewhat coarse, Otoo had appended to her a pretty young wife of sixteen, with whom Iddeah lived in the most perfect harmony.

In two days Corner and Hayward returned, stating that they had compelled the mutineers to quit the coast, and abandon their boat. They had taken refuge, however, among the mountains in the inte-

rior, where they were received and protected by Tamarrah, the king of that district, who had even formed the project, by their assistance, of invading Otoo's territory, and annexing it to his own. It was not apprehended, however, that the mutineers and natives united could make head against such a force as the ship could muster. Hayward, with one detachment, was sent to land, and advance direct upon their position; while Corner, who had born a commission in the land service, marched with another into the interior, to cut off their retreat. This last detachment had several of the principal chiefs with them as guides, among whom, however, Oedidee, notwithstanding his attachment to the English, expressed great reluctance to serve in this capacity, he being tyo or sworn friend to one of the mutineers. The service was hard, their route being crossed by a rapid mountain torrent, winding in such a manner that they had to ford it sixteen times during their march. Whether from strength or custom, the natives dashed through with ease, while the English could scarcely prevent themselves from being carried down by the rapidity of the stream. Some of the heights also were so rugged and inaccessible, that they were obliged to send back for ropes and tackle to assist in mounting them. They were once also in danger of wanting victuals, till one of the natives ran to a temple, and brought out a roasted pig, ready dressed for the dinner of the god. On being taunted with the impiety of this act, he replied, with truth, that there was still more left than there was any chance of his divinity eating.

By the time the English arrived at the district in which the mutineers had sought refuge, all

hazard of resistance on the part of the native powers was found to be at an end. So selfish and precarious is the boasted kindness of those islanders, that Tamarrah, finding nothing more to expect from his foreign refugees, allowed himself to be gained over by presents from Captain Edwards, so far as even to assist in hunting them down. The unhappy offenders, thus hemmed in on every side, and betrayed by those in whom they had trusted, still sought safety by flying from place to place, amid unfrequented woods and hills. But the pursuit was too close. They were surrounded, in the middle of the night, in a remote hut, where they had taken shelter. At dawn, Mr Hayward was preparing to attack, but they then came out in despair and grounded their arms, when their hands being tied behind their backs, they were marched off, under a strong guard, to the boat. Two natives were killed in the course of the pursuit, one by each of the hostile parties.

The guilty, but now unfortunate captives, being brought to the ship, were treated with every tenderness consistent with their being securely guarded. A prison was erected on the quarter deck, where they were both sheltered, and had a free circulation of air. Instead of the two thirds allowance to which prisoners are legally limited, they received the same as the other seamen, including even all the extra indulgencies at present granted. Their families also were allowed to visit them; a permission which gave rise to the most affecting scenes. Every day the wives came down with their infants in their arms; and the fathers weeping over their babes, who were soon to be orphans, and husband and wife mingling cries and tears at

the prospect of so calamitous a separation, melted the heart of every one on board. The utmost affection and tenderness appears to have been shown by these Otaheitean spouses on this trying occasion.

On the day after this successful fulfilment of their mission, the English were visited in full ceremony by the king, the two queens, and some of the principal chiefs. The ladies brought as a present, sixty or seventy yards of Otaheitean cloth, all of which, according to usage, was wrapped round their persons, thereby rendered so bulky and unwieldy, that "that they were obliged to be hoisted on board like horn cattle." They were then *debarassées* by the captain, who, as custom demanded, took the cloth and wrapped it round himself. One of the ladies being observed to cast a longing eye on the captain's laced coat, he took it off, and put it on her, to her extreme delight. They were invited next day on shore, to witness a grand *heiva* held expressly for their behoof. The entertainment here, as is well known, consists in exhibiting a series of frightful distortions and indecent attitudes. It is considered here, however, as the highest of female accomplishments; and girls, it is said, come down from the interior to improve themselves in it, as country gentlemen send their daughters to London boarding schools.

The author gets into extreme raptures at the generosity of the Otaheiteans, particulary towards their tyos or friends, insomuch, that the English, who are accounted a generous people, were by them held as *fieery* or stingy. To represent disinterestedness, however, as their general character, pears very inconsistent with many facts already

narrated, and particularly with the universally established system of prostitution and thieving. The latter practice appeared to be somewhat abated; yet this is admitted to be mainly owing to extraordinary exertion on the part of the chiefs. One young lady, who had stolen the linen of a faithful lover, was punished, by having the hair shaved from one side of the head, and from one eyebrow. No sooner did she see in the glass the grotesque figure she then cut, than she ran away to hide herself in the interior. Attracted indeed by European society, she ever and anon returned, and asked another view of herself, but no sooner obtained it, than raising a loud shriek, she fled back into the woods. The experienced efficacy of this chastisement caused it to be adopted in several other instances.

The multiplication of European plants and animals, left by Captain Cook, was found to be in a still more unpromising state than during Mr Bligh's visit. The natives, on being reproached as to their supineness in this particular, argued with some reason, that their soil already yielded in abundance every thing they wanted or cared for; and what motive could they then have, to spend labour and waste their ground, in objects for which they had no taste or need? They had therefore carefully rooted up all the plants which had been lodged in the soil by Captain Cook, for this benevolent purpose, but were much concerned on the subject of tobacco and cotton, which had taken such deep root, that they could not be wholly extirpated. Yet their standing food, the bread-fruit, had in so far a serious disadvantage, as it did not bear till four or five years after being planted;

and in the wars which were carried on with the usual animosity of savage tribes, it was customary to cut down all the trees of a district, and reduce it for years almost to a state of famine. If we may trust the author, the Otaheiteans have founded on this circumstance a singular manœuvre to supply themselves with fish, which they are too indolent to catch themselves. They have destroyed all the fruit trees on a small neighbouring island, thus obliging the natives to betake themselves to fishery, and bring its products to Otaheite, to get bread-fruit in exchange. The cattle had not fared better. No progeny seems to have arisen from the two parties of the vaccine species, whom Mr Bligh had been at such pains to bring together. As nothing indeed could induce the natives to receive within their lips milk, which they accounted as excrement, their motive for rearing them was very faint, especially as the only one which they had killed for the sake of eating happened to be an old horse, whose tough and disagreeable flesh gave them a general disgust at this class of animals.

All the objects of their expedition being thus fulfilled, and an ample sea-store laid in, the English fixed to depart on the 8th of May, after a stay of about six weeks. On this occasion, the most affecting demonstrations of grief were made on both sides. The natives, surrounding them in their canoes, bared their bodies, raised dismal cries, cut their heads with shells, and smeared their breasts and shoulders with the warm blood as it flowed from the wounds—savage tokens of mourning, such as were usual on the death of a near relation. On the other hand, the narrator believes

this was the first time that an Englishman got up his anchor, at the remotest part of the globe, with a heavy heart to return to his native country. It might be unusual; but the cause of the voyage might have reminded him that this was not the very first time.

The Pandora touched at Huaheine and Bolabola; but when they came to Whytootackee, they made particular inquiries, as Christian had made the Otaheiteans suppose that he had gone there on leaving their island. The natives, however, declared that they had never till now seen a white man. The people appeared much ruder than at Otaheite; "the silken bands of love gave way to the rustic garniture of war." They had no covering except a girdle of stained leaves, yet they adorned themselves with necklaces, framed with considerable skill from the shell of the pearl oyster. They even produced a spear of most exquisite workmanship, in the form of a Gothic spire, and with ornaments in alto relievo, to execute which with stone tools must have been the labour of a lifetime.

Without pausing any longer at a station which promised nothing important, they made sail, and on the 22d May reached Palmerston's Islands. Here no sooner had Lieutenant Corner and a party landed, than they made the important discovery of a yard and some spars having on them the mark *Bounty*. The Bounty then had been here, and every search was to be made in case the remaining mutineers should still be found within its circuit. Lieutenants Corner and Hayward set out on a round from island to island, landing with the greatest difficulty across the heavy surf by which they were almost all surrounded, and having usually

to swim ashore and back in cork-jackets. They were kept moreover in momentary apprehension of an attack from the mutineers, and expected muskets to be fired upon them out of every bush. Evening overtook them at a distance from the ship, exhausted with fatigue, want of food, and swimming through so many reefs. They saw no alternative but to sleep here, after collecting what they could for supper, which was only a few cocoa-nuts, and some cockles of that gigantic species, some of which, he says, are larger than three men can carry. They then betook themselves to sleep, out of which the were not long of being alarmingly roused. A cocoa-nut having by mistake been left on the fire, burst suddenly with some noise, when the whole party sprung up and stood to their arms, imagining themselves surprised by their mutinous countrymen. It took some time to undeceive them, and still more to make them resume that tranquil repose which they had previously enjoyed.

The boats returned without finding the least trace of those whom they sought; and what was worse, they returned reduced in number by the jolly boat, which had disappeared, without any one being able to give account of it. The cutter was despatched to make the tour of the isles, while the ship was run down in the direction the wind had blown the preceeding day, and worked up again by traverses, but all without success. They gave up therefore all hopes of seeing it, without being able to surmise what might be its fate. The author finally consoles himself by thinking, that "by these accidents it has pleased the divine author of the universe to people the southern hemisphere."

Continuing their voyage, they came to an island

forty miles long, called by the natives Otuleselu, and of which they claim the discovery. The natives had never seen an European ship before, and were perfectly ignorant of fire-arms. They brought on board birds and fowls of the most splendid plumage, and very fine aromatic puddings. They were remarkably handsome, and had neither attire nor ornament, except a girdle of coloured leaves round the middle, chaplets of flowers in their hair and round the neck, and a yellow dye with which some had injudiciously tinted the whole of their skins. They were struck with surprise and wonder at every thing, and made the most submissive gestures, which did not however prevent them, in the course of the day, from making off with the third Lieutenant's new coat, and every particle of iron they could lay their hands on. So eager were they in theft and traffic, that they did not observe when the ship sailed, and were obliged to jump into the sea like a flock of wild geese; and one fellow hung for a mile or two by the rudder, fancying he could thus pull the ship back, like a little canoe. In this run they met a fresh disaster, in the disappearance of their tender, which was the more distressing, as water and provisions were on deck for her, to be put on board in the morning. They cruised for her two days, discharging great and small guns, and burning false fires, but all without success, and they were obliged to leave her to her fate.

The Pandora now proceeded, and on the 29th arrived at Annamooka, the principal of the Friendly Isles; but this last title our author, with all deference to Cook, brands as a thorough misnomer,

appealing not only to Captain Bligh's tranquil adventure at Murderers Cove, but to his own experience. The people of Annamooka he reckons the most daring set of robbers in the South Sea. A poor Irishman, servant to the captain, being found by them out of sight of the other men, was robbed of every thing he had, including all his clothes, except one shoe. In this state the poor man ran about naked and half distracted, till he was rescued by Lieutenant Hayward, who however failed in his attempt to trace out the robbers, or recover any of the clothes. Yet they are in some respects more industrious and improved than the Otaheiteans. Each man's property is precisely ascertained and fenced in with an elegant Chinese railing. Their houses were approached by a gravel walk, with shrubbery planted with some taste on each side. They seemed thankful for, and adopted with promptitude, every hint for the improvement of their fruits, particularly for the transportation of pine-apples, and they reared shaddocks superior to those of the West Indies. The females were extremely beautiful; their want of the feminine softness of manners, which characterizes those of Otaheite, is compensated by their animated countenances and extreme vivacity. They lost no time in commencing that shameful traffic, which has always been opened in these islands on the arrival of Europeans. It was rendered still more shameful by the open manner in which the mothers treated for the disposal of their daughters. They drove a very hard bargain, endeavouring at first to rate the virtue of their offspring, at the value of a broad axe; but, this estimate appeared to the sailors exorbitant, by stood out, and, in two or three days, the

market came down to an old razor, or a large nail. The natives continued their outrages whenever occasion offered. One of them got behind Lieutenant Corner, and struck him a blow with a club on the back of the neck; but, Corner quickly recovering, shot him dead. They met some of the natives of Tofoa, who had been concerned in the transaction at Murderer's Cove. Captain Edwards was at great pains to expose to them the enormity of their conduct upon that occasion. It is not said what impression his discourses made, and he was afraid of pushing them too far, in case he should share the fate of Captain Bligh, and come within their sphere.

On the 8th August, the Pandora set sail from Annamooka, following nearly the track of Carteret and Bligh. They passed several islands, particularly one on the 8th, which they called Grenville Island. The natives, who had never before seen an European, came off in a fleet of canoes, armed with clubs, and raising the war-whoop at stated intervals, with an evident intention to attack the English. As soon, however, as they heard the report of a musket, they did not wait for that of a great gun, but dropped their hostile intentions, came on board, and begun thieving with all their might. In this exercise they were so skilful and vigorous, that one fellow, who was laid hold of by five of the stoutest men in the ship, overcame them all, and jumped overboard with his booty. Their persons were tatooed all over, and in the most elaborate manner, with the figures of men, dogs, birds, and fishes, "so that every man was a moving landscape."

The vessel got soon into the track of Bougain-

ville, whose narrative had warned them that it was a dangerous route. For some time they lay-to during the night; but afterwards, conceiving that this was not consistent with the despatch now necessary, imprudently, as it should seem, dropped that precaution. On the 25th, in the morning, they saw breakers, and more towards noon, extending in such a direction as to bar their progress southward. They then stood to the westward, but soon discovered another reef, which appeared entirely to close all progress. The boat was sent to treat for a passage; and about five o'clock the signal was made that one had been found. They then made signals for the boat to return, till which time they made no movement, from the dread of losing her, like the tender and jolly-boat.

Night had just closed, the boat was on board, and the sails were trimmed; but scarcely had the Pandora begun to move, when the alarm was given that she had struck on a reef. The sails were immediately furled, and the boats hoisted out, with a view of casting anchor; but the carpenter immediately reported that she was making eighteen inches water; and in a quarter of an hour it was nine feet deep in the hold. In this dreadful crisis all hands were turned to the pumps, and a number of prisoners were released from irons, and put to this work. The night was dark and stormy, and they were everywhere encompassed by rocks, shoals, and breakers. The water gained fast upon them; every soul fell to baling and pumping, except a few employed to throw overboard the guns. They continued the whole night "baling between life and death," but without being able to prevent the continual progress of the water. At length the

ship began to heel; one man was killed by a gun running to leeward, and another by the fall of a spare top-mast. The people became faint at the pumps, but were supported by rations of excellent strong beer, which served the purpose much better than spirits; and they continued to the last intrepid and obedient. The ship, however, was settling fast down into the sea; and about half an hour before daybreak, a council of officers was held, when it was unanimously decided, "that nothing more could be done for the preservation of his Majesty's ship." The crew were therefore instructed to save their lives if possible, and in any manner they could. All the prisoners were let out of irons, that, in a crisis which levelled every distinction, they might seek their common safety. Spars, booms, hencoops, every thing buoyant, were cut off, as means of safety which might be clung to in the last extremity. The ship took now a very heavy heel, and lay quite down on one side. Immediately, one of the officers called out, that the anchor on their bow was under water, then leaped out, calling on every one to seek safety, like him, amid the waters. The captain, and all who could, followed his example, which they had scarcely done, when the ship took her last heel, and was under the waves. Those of the crew who were striving for life on the face of the deep, heard beneath the cries of the others, who had gone down with the ship, growing gradually fainter and fainter, till they sunk into silence. Unfortunately, the boats had been drifted to some distance by the tide; but when they came up, they took on board all who had been able to keep themselves afloat.

Morning now dawned on this scene of calamity; and its rays presented to them at last some hope of deliverance. At the distance of four miles, they descried one of those small islands called keys, which, though only thirty paces long, afforded a resting-place. They mustered their numbers, and found the loss to amount to thirty-nine, of whom four were prisoners. They now hauled up the boats, and examined the stock of provisions with which they were to find their way from the eastern extremity of New Guinea to the settlement on Timor. The distance was smaller than Captain Bligh's, yet their provision was somewhat more completely inadequate. It was only providentially that a small barrel of water, a keg of wine, some biscuit, and a few muskets, had been thrown into the boat. Their chief dread was on the subject of water, as the northern coast of New Holland had been reported deficient of that necessary; and to make their present portion last for sixteen days, only two small wine-glasses could be allowed daily to each man. None was allowed the first day, and they could eat nothing from the extreme thirst. In the evening, a wine-glass was allowed, and the officers joined together to make it into tea, of which they passed a salt-cellar spoonful from one to another, by which their lips were moistened, and they found great refreshment.

A day was passed in putting the boats into the best order they could, and distributing the crew among them. They had four; the Launch, the Pinnace, the Red and the Blue Yauls, into the three last of which they put twenty-four, and thirty-one into the Launch. The ten prisoners

were divided by threes and twos. They sailed at twelve. They soon found themselves on the coast of New Holland; and the Red Yaul made the agreeable discovery of a fine bay, where there was a spring of very excellent water at the very edge of the beach. They filled their bellies, a tea-kettle, and two quart bottles; but the other boats were unfortunately too far a-head of them to be called back. The necessity of keeping together was very urgent, as the principal subsistence was in the Launch; they therefore towed each other during the night; but this was attended with much inconvenience. At midnight, they were alarmed by the dreadful cry of "breakers a-head." They were on a reef of rocks, and knew not well how to steer, so that they could not well say how they got out of them. Next day, coming to an inhabited island, they flattered themselves with obtaining a supply of water. The natives came down to the shore in crowds, without girdle or covering, and, on the English presenting some knives and buttons, and making signals of extreme thirst, they brought a keg of good water, which was drained in an instant. On receiving it to be again filled, they put it down, and made signs to come and get it; but when the crew saw the women and children running and supplying the men with bows and arrows, they kept back, and stood on their guard. Instantly a shower of arrows fell among them, which luckily wounded none of the party, though several stuck in the boats. They then let fly a volley of muskets, which put their savage enemies to flight; but they made no farther attempt to procure relief here. The next island they came to was searched in vain for wa-

ter; and in the evening they reached one which they called Laforey's Island; and being the last land at which they hoped to touch, it was a deeply eventful question, whether water would be found in it. As it was night before they landed, they went to sleep, "to refresh their wo-worn spirits." The morning was ushered in by the howling of wolves, attracted by their scent, and which made but a gloomy presage. However, water must be searched for; and on their advance, the monsters retired, "and filled the woods with their hideous growlings." They now traced a foot-path down into a hollow, where, on digging four or five feet, they had the ecstatic pleasure to see a spring rush out. They began with drinking, till they were "perfectly water-logged;" then filled to the brim every article on board that was capable of containing liquid, including the carpenter's boots, which, however, were first emptied, on account of the perils of leakage. This termination of their sufferings from thirst, however, formed the commencement of those from hunger, which had been unfelt amid the greater intensity of the former want. A harsh astringent fruit, resembling a plum, which they found here, formed but an imperfect palliative.

After leaving Laforey's Island, two or three others were still descried, before they entered the great abyss of the Indian ocean, of which they had a thousand miles to cross. They soon encountered so heavy a swell, as threatened destruction to their little fleet. Their greatest apprehension was that of being separated, as they had not the means of dividing their water. Their first resource was to take each other in tow; but the swell ran so

high, that, in the middle of the night, a new tow-line broke, which put all into confusion, and they were afraid of being dashed against each other. They made it again fast, but it broke a second time; and, after several trials, they were obliged to give up the towing system, finding that it would have torn the boats to pieces. Notwithstanding the supply of water which they had procured, their allowance was still excessively short, and their thirst so severe, that they did not care to eat even the scanty portion of food allotted to them. Several, in desperation, drank salt water, and even their own urine, but in both cases with fatal results. As the sun beat intensely upon their heads, all their hats having been lost in the wreck, they endeavoured to procure coolness by applying wet cloths dipped in the salt water; but after a few days, so great an absorption took place, through heat and fever, that the very fluids were tainted with the bittern of the sea-water, and the saliva became intolerable in the mouth.

This cruel state of things endured for eleven days, from the 2d to the 13th of September, on which last day land was discovered; but they were now tantalized by a dead calm, in consequence of which they could not near the coast till the following day. Even then, there was such a prodigious surf, that landing could not be attempted. Two men swung a bottle round their necks, and swam across the breakers; but after running for some miles along the shore, they came on board without finding any supply. At length, about twelve, the other boats saw the Red Yaul run into a creek. Hereupon they immediately shared the remainder of their water, amounting to

about half a bottle to each, which was swallowed in an instant. Animated with fresh spirits, they dashed manfully across a somewhat formidable reef which was interposed, and found a fine spring of water, which afforded immediate relief. In the afternoon, a venerable old chief came down the creek in a canoe, with several attendants. The crew addressed him in French and English, neither of which languages he understood a word of; but the misery painted on their countenances told their tale beyond the power of words. He showed all the sympathy of a benevolent heart, and offered, by signs, to conduct them on horseback to Coupang, which was seventy miles distant. This the nature of their service did not allow them to accept, but they were ready to treat with the natives for provisions. The latter came down, accordingly, with large supplies; and though guineas were held by them as of no account, they gave as much pork and fowls as was wanted for a few buttons. The English sat down and made a very hearty dinner; but as they were regaling themselves, a wild beast gave a roar among the bushes. Some endeavoured to turn this into jest, "but others were rather troubled with the dismaloes." In consequence of the weak state of their minds and bodies, this last party prevailed; a general gloom stole upon them; and this first night of their deliverance was spent in a succession of groundless panics. The natives of a little village near them began at nightfall a general song, according to the usual custom between the tropics, where the refreshing coolness makes this the gay season. The seamen, however, in the fulness of their present fears, took it into their heads to interpret this

song as a war-whoop, preparatory to a general attack; and they reproached themselves with forgetting Captain Bligh's precaution, of not landing till they came to the European settlement. As hours elapsed, however, without the least symptom of approach or attack, nature was overpowered, and they sunk into sleep. At dawn of day, the master awaked them by giving the huntsman halloo, at which sound all started up, and imagining that the Indians were at last upon them, ran down to the sea, and never looked back till they were knee-deep in the water. At last they discovered that there was not a native pursuing, or even in sight; when the relief of their fears, and shame of their cowardice, determined them to shake off henceforth such chimerical apprehensions.

The English set sail at one o'clock this day, and, at five in the following afternoon, landed at Coupang. The former governor was dead, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Vanion, (the same called Wanjou by Bligh.) He received them with the same hospitality and generous kindness so fully experienced by their unfortunate predecessors. Mr Hamilton declares, he could dwell with pleasure on the praise of this honest Dutchman, who not only supplied all their wants, but did every thing in his power to regale them, and make them spend their time agreeably. There happened to be another party here, who had been the objects of his kindness. They consisted of eight men, a woman, and two children, who had lately arrived in a boat, reporting themselves as escaped from an English brig, that had been wrecked in these seas. On the landing of the English, some one imme-

diately ran and told them, as joyful tidings, that their captain was arrived, when one of them, starting up in surprise and agitation, cried, "Captain! we have no Captain!" and several attempted to run away. On such suspicious symptoms, orders were immediately given to apprehend the whole, when they at last confessed that they were convicts escaped from Botany Bay. They had worked themselves along the coast of New South Wales, sleeping on shore when they durst, and meeting with a number of curious adventures.

Hamilton considers Coupang as the Montpelier of the East. So salubrious is its climate, that it is resorted to by invalids from Batavia, and other neighbouring settlements. Notwithstanding the monopoly of sandal wood, it does not defray its own expense; but is worth keeping up as a naval station. The policy of the Dutch towards the native powers, savours little of that humanity which they display towards our shipwrecked mariners. Their primary aim is to keep them in a state of perpetual war with each other, so as to prevent them (which yet they cannot always do) from uniting against themselves. These wars serve also the purpose of filling the market with a regular supply of slaves. Indeed, nothing seems to be less scrupulous than the manner in which this traffic is carried on. They saw an instance, during their stay, of a petty prince, who, in settling his account with a Dutch merchant, found a small balance against him; to clear off which, he ran out and laid hold of a respectable old man, one of his subjects, dragged him in, and delivered him as a slave; by which *item* the account was fitted.

The native king of Coupang having died during

their stay, the English officers, and the members of the Dutch government, were asked both to the funeral and subsequent installation of the successor. At a sumptuous dinner, given on the occasion, Mr Hamilton was surprised to hear given as one of the toasts, "My Lord Company." On asking the import of this title, he was informed that the native princes would have paid no regard to the Dutch, if they had supposed them the mere agents of a mercantile body. It was necessary, therefore, to instil into them, that Company was a powerful European prince, to whom the governor acted as viceroy.

On the 6th of October, the party embarked in the Rombang, Dutch East Indiaman, and sailed through the Straits of Allas, which are recommended as safer than those of Sapy, though so intricate, that a Dutch ship, after beating about among them for a twelvemonth, found itself at the very spot from which it had departed. At the island of Flores, they encountered a most dreadful tempest, with thunder and lightning, such as they had never experienced; the pumps were choaked, and the ship was driving impetuously on a barbarous shore that lay on their lee. The Dutch mariners were affrighted, and went below; and the vessel was saved by the British tars. Yet Mr Hamilton inclines to acquit the former nation of that gross pusillanimity which such conduct would infer, and is of opinion, that "they would fight the devil, if he did not appear in the shape of thunder and lightning."

On the 30th, the English arrived at Samarang, the second Dutch settlement in Java. Here they

had the delightful surprise of meeting their Tender, so long given up for lost. All the sympathetic feelings of our nature, in their utmost warmth, were called forth on both sides; and, with eyes streaming with tears of joy, they recounted to each other the mutual tale of shipwreck, famine, peril, and disaster. The crew of the Tender, on the unfortunate night when they parted with their companions, were attacked by the natives collected for that purpose, in a numerous and powerful body. The contest was the more serious, that the enemy was wholly unacquainted with fire-arms; and, when they saw their companions dropping, considered it as merely an accidental tumble. Next day the ship was missing, and was sought for in vain. It was evident how very critical their situation now was. The distress for want of water was so excessive, that one young man went deranged in consequence, and did not recover for several months. In endeavouring to make for Annamooka, they stumbled upon Tofoa, the fatal scene of Captain Bligh's disaster. They experienced a similar treacherous attempt, but, being possessed of fire-arms, were easily enabled to baffle it; and, with that precaution, could afterwards carry on a trade with the natives for necessary supplies. They had now to enter on the same career as Captain Bligh, with the important advantage, however, that, being provided with fire-arms, they could venture to land at the different islands on their route, and procure what was most urgently wanted. They neglected, however, his precaution of steering southwards, in order to clear New Guinea. The consequence was, that they encountered the same reef upon which the

Pandora had perished, and traversed long from shore to shore, without finding a passage. Placed, at length, between the dreadful alternative of shipwreck and famine, they boldly pushed forward, and beat over the reef. After passing Endeavour Straits, they were picked up by a small Dutch vessel, received a-board, and treated with great humanity; but, as no officer under the rank of lieutenant bears a commission, they had no document to show, and fell under the suspicion of being the Bounty mutineers. They were kept, therefore, under short, though humane *surveillance*, till the appearance of their fellow-seamen dispelled all suspicion.

In a few days, they arrived at Batavia. The first object that presented itself, consisted of some dead bodies floating down the canal,—rather a doleful reception to a sickly crew, "on their *première entrée* into this painted sepulchre, this golgotha of Europe." Hamilton, however, acquits Nature of the pestilence which desolates this fatal spot. It appears to him wholly imputable to "the diabolical taste of the Dutch, who, from habits contracted at home, cannot exist, even under a burning sun, without snuffing the putrid exhalations from stagnant water." From the canals which they must conduct, even through their pleasure grounds, he professionally declares, that all the mortality of the place originates. This would have appeared the less to be regretted, had Dutchmen been the only sufferers; but the situation of Batavia renders it a necessary thoroughfare to the ships of all European nations; and that their finest crews should perish, in consequence of a Dutchman's itch for stagnant mud, is a most deplorable

circumstance. Nay, to such a length, he says, does this "canalling murder" carry them, that they have contrived to form water communications to the top of a neighbouring hill.

The English officers, during their stay, were much disgusted with the lofty airs assumed by the edileers, or members of the supreme council of Batavia. These "vile hawkers of spice and nutmegs," exacted a submission more profound than the most tyrannical monarch that ever swayed a sceptre. When a gentleman in his carriage met one of them, he was obliged to alight, and make, not a respectful bow, but one indicative of the most slavish homage; that sort of bow "which every vertebra in an English back is anchylosed against."

CHAPTER IV.

SIR THOMAS STAINES ORDERED ROUND CAPE HORN—LIMA—THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—ARRIVAL AT PITCAIRN'S ISLAND—ACCOUNT OF THE MUTINEERS—THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THAT ISLAND—ITS PRESENT STATE.

No farther steps being taken in pursuit of the remaining mutineers, their fate continued to be involved in mystery, and only some vague rumours reached Europe, till the full light unexpectedly thrown upon it by the following voyage.

On the 31st December 1813, Sir Thomas Staines, captain of his Majesty's frigate the Briton, was ordered to sail with a fleet for the East Indies. In twenty-five days, they arrived off Madeira, and on the 28th March entered the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. During their stay at this place, the Briton received a new destination. Intelligence was received that the Essex, a frigate belonging to the United States of America, with whom we were then at war, after committing great depredations on our Southern whale fishery, was then refitting in the port of Valparaiso, and Sir Thomas was ordered round Cape Horn to endeavour to capture this vessel. The crew, inspired with the true spirit of British sailors,

joyfully hailed the prospects of glory and adventure which this destination opened; yet they anticipated and experienced at this advanced season a boisterous passage round Cape Horn. Besides the tempests, the cold also was very severe, especially to persons who were provided only with the thin clothing required in a tropical voyage. However, on the 21st May, they reached the port of Valparaiso, where they found the Phoebe and Cherub, his Majesty's ships, in possession of the object of their pursuit, which they were carrying a prize to England. The purpose of their voyage was therefore accomplished without their interposition; but as the crew were considerably harassed with their stormy passage, and a good deal of sickness prevailed, the captain determined, by way of a little relaxation, to give them a visit to Lima. He sailed for that city in company with the Tagus. They touched at Payta, where the name of Anson was still found to be well remembered; but the town presented a miserable appearance, being situated under a barren cliff, and the houses either without roofs, or only covered with a thin matting. However, this is the part of Peru in which it never was known to rain. Lima answered most completely the purposes of relaxation. The inhabitants were particularly fond of the English sailors, and led them a continual round of feasting and gayety. The ladies, being especially pleased with aquatic excursions, paid them frequent visits, and, by their lively and agreeable manners, made the time pass delightfully. It was a subject of no little surprise to see these gentle and good natured ladies the loudest in their shouts at the bloody spectacles exhibited by them at the great national

spectacle of the bull-fights. It seems to be intimated that, notwithstanding the great outward profession of religion, and that there are in Lima fifty churches or chapels, and upwards of 18,000 clergy, secular and regular, the pleasures of the Limanians are not held under any very strict restraints of virtue and decorum. On the contrary, the members of the church themselves do not often think it necessary to assume even the appearance of decency.

Amid the amusements of Lima, the ten days allotted for their stay passed very rapidly. Being then obliged to bid adieu to these gay quarters, they touched at several points on the coast, and then proceeded to examine the group of the Gallapagos. These islands were found dark, gloomy, and mountainous, almost covered with the traces of volcanic eruption. On one only there was a single stream of water. Yet on Albemarle Island, numerous and beautiful plants and shrubs were seen growing out of the masses of dark lava.

This gloomy scene was soon gladly exchanged for the more cheerful aspect of the Marquesas, where the crew met with that somewhat too cordial welcome, which always awaits European navigators. These islands have been too frequently observed to render it necessary to dwell on the particulars here given. An exception may however be made in favour of an expedition into the interior of Nooaheevah, to investigate respecting a race of reported cannibals, inhabiting the mountains of the interior, whom the American Captain Porter boasted of having invaded and subdued. The party was at first intended to consist of twelve, but from causes which it is said cannot be explained, it was

reduced to three officers, Shilliber, Morgan, and Blackmore. The approach was by steep rocks, rendered slippery by recent rain, so that it was noon ere they reached the highland settlement, of which they were in search. No sooner did the natives descry the party, than they ran to meet them with every testimony of the most extravagant joy; danced, sung, knelt down, embraced them, and laid at their feet cocoa-nuts, slings, spears, and every thing by themselves accounted most valuable. Astonished beyond measure at the whiteness of their skins, they began laying bare the breasts, arms, and legs, to ascertain if it were the same all over; and one of them fell to washing Mr Shilliber's hand, on suspicion of its being painted. As this minute inspection by five hundred armed savages was like to become rather annoying, Mr Morgan thought it best to vary the scene by letting off a pistol. The effect was electrical; the whole assemblage fell prostrate on their faces, and for some time durst not venture to look up. They spoke in the most bitter terms, and seemingly with truth, of the conduct of Captain Porter, calling out with one voice, "Wicked and brutal Porter murdered the Typees." On being told that he was a prisoner, they gave signs of the most extravagant joy; and one of them, to make the matter better understood, tied his leg with his sling; on which exhibition, delight was conspicuous in every face. Porter had erected a small village surrounded by a wall, at which he obliged the English captives to work. The English now demolished the wall, and held in derision both the name and the title which it implied—though, on grounds which do not appear much more legitimate, they took pos-

session of it themselves in the name of King George.

On the 2d September, the Briton sailed from the Marquesas, and steered to the southward to regain the port of Valparaiso. In the second watch of the night, land was unexpectedly discovered. Daylight discovered to them a fertile shore, varied with huts, cultivation, and people. Among the latter there appeared an alacrity still greater than usual, to come out and hail the Europeans. The people were making signs, launching their little canoes through the surf, and as soon as they were afloat, pulling towards the ship with the most eager despatch. The captain was mustering the few words of the Marquesan tongue which he had picked up, to hail them with, when, to the utter amazement of himself and all present, a voice came from the nearest canoe, asking in good English, "What is the ship's name?" On receiving an answer, it added, "Who is the commander?" A regular intercourse was now commenced, and they were requested to come on board. They were ready to do so, but had no boat-hook to hold on by. They were offered a rope, but had nothing to make it fast to. However, their zeal mastered every difficulty, and in a few minutes they were in the ship. They seemed perfectly at ease, and under no apprehension, but the crew were still lost in wonder, when one of their new visitors said, "Do you know William Bligh in England?" The veil immediately fell from their eyes, and they saw themselves about to fathom the depths of that mystery, which had hitherto involved the fate of Christian and his unhappy comrades. The question was put instantly,

"Do you know one Christian?"—"Oh! yes, there is his son coming up in the next boat; his name is Friday Fletcher October Christian; his father is dead now." Anxiety was now raised to the highest pitch to learn every thing relating to this mysterious transaction; question was put upon question; the answers were given readily, and drunk in with the utmost avidity. From them, and from the notices collected in Otaheite during the missionary voyage, we may trace the connected glory of Christian and his adherents, down from the fatal moment when they betrayed their duty to their commander and to their country.

As the mutineers were steering away from the boat into which they had thrust Captain Bligh, they were heard exclaiming, Huzza for Otaheite! To Otaheite accordingly they went, and again anchored in Matavai Bay. As the natives, though overjoyed, were evidently a good deal surprised at so prompt a return, they amused them by saying, that Captain Bligh and his officers had remained with Captain Cook, who, as they made the Otaheiteans believe, had settled at Whytutakee, an island to the westward. Under faith of this report they received the most cordial reception, and the usual round of dissolute gayety immediately commenced. As soon however as Christian had time for reflection, he could not but perceive the danger with which he remained on an island which was the rendezvous of every ship that came from Europe, and to which, even if Captain Bligh never reached England, a vessel would probably be despatched to inquire into his fate. The only course affording a promise of safety, appeared to be that of forming a settlement upon some detached island

out of the usual route of navigators, but which might yet afford them the means of living in ease and plenty. With this view he cast his eyes upon Toubouai, a solitary island discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, and which has since received the name of Pitcairn's Island. To the natives they had a plausible tale to tell. They were going to rejoin Cook and Bligh, who waited for them at Whytutakee, and to whom they were anxious to carry as large a stock of provisions and supplies as possible. Under this belief, the Otaheiteans vied with each other in pouring in supplies of every thing which could be useful to them and to these old friends. Several of their male tyos, and, above all, of their female favourites, accepted with delight the permission given to sail along with them. Christian found no difficulty, in the first instance, in forming a settlement at Pitcairn's Island. They built a fort, and began multiplying their live stock. Those animosities, however, which in the case of these savage tribes are seldom long of succeeding to that first cordiality with which they receive Europeans, were not long of being manifested. The irregular conduct of the colonists themselves is charged, apparently with reason, as the main cause of this alienation. They endeavoured to carry off their women by violence, and they imprudently involved themselves in the private quarrels of the different chiefs. There then arose among the natives a general spirit of hostility; and as, though no match for Europeans, they are brave and determined, it proved very harassing. The settlers, instead of that voluptuous indolence, the hope of which had impelled them to this guilty course, found nothing but hard work

and hard fighting. A party was thus formed, which loudly called for a return to the enjoyment of the pleasures of Otaheite; which project being warmly seconded by the natives of that island, soon carried with it the majority of the colony. Christian's contrary advice was overruled, and it was determined to set sail again for their favourite island. It was not with satisfaction, however, that the natives saw them collecting and carrying away the domestic animals, of which they themselves had begun to recognise the value. A quarrel arose, while the Otaheiteans were employed in this task. The dispute soon spread, and ended in a pitched battle. The English, attacked by the whole population of the island, were somewhat hard pressed, and obliged to concentrate themselves on a neighbouring height. The possession of fire-arms at length secured to them a complete victory, with only two wounded on their side, and a great slaughter on that of the enemy. Such a hard conflict had only the effect of fixing them faster in their first resolution, and they immediately set sail for Matavai Bay. On their voyage, Christian betrayed the deepest sense of the shame and misery in which he had involved himself by the fatal and guilty step he had taken, shut himself in his cabin, scarcely ever appeared, and, when he did, seemed sunk in the deepest melancholy. On the 22d September 1789, the Bounty anchored a third time on the coast of Otaheite. Sixteen of the mutineers immediately landed, with the proportion of the goods which fell to their share. They were received by the natives with their usual fond cordiality; but the issue narrated above sufficiently shows the rashness and extreme imprudence of their return.

Christian, justly apprehensive of the consequences of remaining in Otaheite, slipped cable in the night, and made off with all who were on board, amounting to nine English, six Otaheitean men, and eleven women. He again steered for Pitcairn's Island, and rejoined the establishment there, which the natives, overawed by the late disaster, seem to have made no farther attempts to oppose. A more deadly evil afflicted the rising colony. A mortal jealousy arose between the English and the Otaheiteans, for which, on the part of the latter, there seems to have been but too good ground. Christian's wife having died in childbed soon after the birth of their eldest son, he seized forcibly in her stead on the wife of one of the Otaheiteans. The injured and justly incensed husband, giving way to the fury of resentment characteristic of savages, determined on a bloody revenge. Taking advantage of the moment when Christian was busy in his yam plantation, he shot him in the back. The wound was mortal, and the unhappy Christian at once expiated his crimes with his life. This was the signal for a general rising of the Otaheiteans, who, from the specimen now given, may, it is to be feared, have had too just grounds of enmity. The English were surprised and overcome, two were killed, and Adams, wounded, fled into the woods. This dreadful scene was followed by another still more tragical, and which seems almost to realize the dark traditions of ancient fable. The Otaheitean females, like those of most savage races, had always felt a strong partiality in favour of the Europeans; and this preference, certainly very cruel and mortifying to their countrymen, had

been one main cause of the deadly enmity between the two races. Spectators of the late fatal contest, their whole hearts had been on the side of the strangers. The issue inspired feelings of regret and indignation, worked up to such a pitch as prompted to a dreadful deed, belying all that gentleness which is proper to the female character, and has been supposed peculiarly characteristic of Otaheitean manners. They rose in the depth of night, and, like too celebrated daughters of Danaus, murdered in their sleep their unsuspecting husbands and countrymen.

In this dreadful manner Adams and the few surviving English were saved. Yet out of this abyss of horror there has, by a happy providence, arisen a society, bearing no stamp of the guilty origin from which it sprung. Christian, who had been well educated, betrayed, as already observed, deep signs of remorse at the guilty course in which he had involved himself; and he endeavoured to make some amends, by instilling better religious and moral principles into the minds of his people. The mode of instruction is communicated in the following dialogue with the crew of the Bounty.

Q. Have you been taught any religion?

A. Yes, a very good religion.

Q. In what do you believe?

A. I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. (Here he went through the whole of the Creed.)

Q. Who first taught you this Creed?

A. John Adams says it was first by F. Christian's order, and that he likewise caused a prayer to be said every day at noon.

Q. And what is the prayer?

A. It is—"I will arise and go to my Father,

and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy of being called thy son."

Q. Do you continue to say this every day?

A. Yes, we never neglect it.

This was, perhaps, somewhat a mechanical formula of repentance; and the last violent act of Christian scarcely indicated any very deep and sincere amendment. However, a new race arose, removed from the scenes of violence in which they had received their birth, and carefully instructed, so far as their teachers could, in the duties of religion, and the ties of social life. The only survivor of the original body, at the time of the Briton's arrival, was John Adams, a man of a mild and amiable disposition, aged about sixty, and who denied any intentional participation in the crime of the mutineers. He was reverenced as the father of the colony, and ruled with a sort of paternal sway over this little community. Their numbers had now increased to forty-eight, of whom six were the Otaheitean females who accompanied the Europeans in the first establishment of the colony. A great proportion were still in a state of childhood; but there were eleven fine young men grown up, and about as many of the other sex. They married about nineteen or twenty, and had only one wife, telling the English it was wicked to have more. The close intermarriages among so small a body, had produced among them a sort of general relationship, and the reigning spirit was such as became relations—a spirit of peace, friendship, order, and harmony. Disputes were of rare occurrence, and were then, according to their own expression, only "a word of mouth quarrel."

which, being referred to Adams's arbitration, were speedily adjusted.

The natives have entirely disappeared from the island; but by what means, or at what particular era, we nowhere find precisely recorded. It seems very probable, that after the disastrous issue of their contest with the mutineers, they may have given up their native island as untenable, and migrated at once to other settlements. At all events, the present tenants appear to be guiltless of any iniquity which may have attended their expulsion. They are at present the sole possessors of the island which is described to be everywhere fertile, and capable of culture. They have built their village on a picturesque little eminence, in and round which plantations of the cocoa-nut and the bread-fruit are pleasingly interspersed. Each family has its separate allotment of land, and a friendly emulation prevails in cultivating it with diligence and success. The principal object of their industry was the yam, which had actually been brought to a perfection which the Briton's crew never saw equalled elsewhere. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees were not natives, but a supply had been brought by the Bounty, and had been planted with success. By the same conveyance they had brought pigs, goats, and poultry. The former had specially multiplied, and many of them were running wild in the woods. On their return from Otaheite, after having taken out of the Bounty every thing that promised to be of use, they had burnt the vessel, in order, we suppose, that it might never testify against them. The hoops and other fragments of iron that they had saved from it were turned to excellent account, being manufactured

into needles and into hooks for their fishing tackle. The latter was employed to great advantage in taking a great abundance and variety of fish, which the coast of Pitcairn Island afforded.

The men appeared to be a fine race, about five feet ten inches high, with manly features, long and black hair. Their only attire was a mantle, which went over the shoulders, and hung down to the knee, being tied round the waist by a girdle, both produced from the bark of trees growing on the island. On the head they wore a straw hat, with a few feathers stuck into it by way of ornament. The young women have invariably beautiful teeth, fine eyes, and open expression of countenance, with an engaging air of simple innocence and sweet sensibility. It is gratifying to add, that this aspect is a faithful mirror of their mind, and that they displayed none of those loose and forward manners and libertine habits, which are too common among the natives of the South Sea.

The islanders spoke always English, though they understood the Otaheitean. Being asked what countrymen they accounted themselves, their reply was, "Half English, half Otaheite." Who was their king. "King George, to be sure." They had seen four ships pass the island, but only one stopped, which was commanded by an American captain of the name of Mayhew Folgier, who had in fact spread a rumour of the settlement, but it reached Europe only faintly, and was scarcely believed.

As soon as the first burst of curiosity on both sides had been gratified, the islanders were invited down to share the breakfast, which had now been

served up in the cabin. They agreed with little ceremony, and on going down, offered to the crew a new subject of surprise and admiration. Before sitting down to table, they fell on their knees, and with uplifted hands implored the blessing of heaven on the meal which they were now to partake. In the same manner, at the close of the meal, they resumed the same attitude, and breathed a fervent prayer of thanksgiving for the bounty which they had just experienced. They did not fail to mark the omission of this observance on the part of the visitors; and Mr Shillibeer acknowledges that he felt not a little confusion and embarrassment, when Christian pointed this out to him, and asked the reason—a question which he was fain to evade, by drawing his attention to some of the novelties which the ship presented. In fact, their curiosity and wonder were all alive; and the scene before them presented a number of new objects, of which they eagerly inquired the names and uses. Among these were several of the most common European domestic animals. Mackay, their first acquaintance, on entering the cabin, and discovering a little black terrier, was at first frightened, and ran behind one of the officers. He soon began, however, to peep over his shoulder, and said, pointing to the dog, "I know what that is; it is a dog; I never saw a dog before—will it bite?" He was soon reassured; and turning to Christain said, "It is a pretty thing to look at, is it not?" The view also of the cow looking down the hatchway afforded nearly an equal subject of surprise and amusement.

Upon the whole the Briton's crew were highly gratified by their intercourse with these simple natives, whose whole department displayed an active

intelligence and liberal curiosity, and at the same time very amiable dispositions. These were put to a somewhat hard trial, by the order which the captain thought it necessary to issue, that one should remain in each canoe, to prevent it from drifting. This was a severe privation to several who were thereby disappointed their eager wish of entering the ship. As this gave rise to a little discussion, which threatened to become warm, Mackay started the proposal, that they should decide it by the simple method of casting lots. This was at once acceded to, quickly executed, and those to whom the issue was unfavourable, departed without a murmur and went into the boats.

In consequence of the short supply of provisions, the Briton was able to remain only two days off the island. The captains went ashore to visit Adams. The first person whom they descried was his daughter, stationed on the top of a hill, evidently with the view of reconnoitering whether there was any thing in their aspect that could be alarming in respect to her father. As they came, however, quite in pacific array, without attendants, or even arms, she stood still to receive them. She is described as "arrayed in nature's simple garb and wholly unadorned;" when it is added, that "she was beauty's self," this proposition must probably be understood in a somewhat poetical sense. She received them with an amiable timidity, not unmingled with surprise, and led them through groves of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, to a beautiful picturesque little village. The houses were small, arranged in an oblong square, with trees interspersed; they were regular, convenient, and excessively clean. The captains were immediately in-

troduced to Adams, where they found a fine looking old man approaching to sixty. They had a long private interview with him, in which they conversed fully on every thing relating to the mutiny of the Bounty. He solemnly disavowed all previous knowledge of, or consent to the conspiracy formed by Christian; at the same time he fully admitted, that by following the fortunes of that unhappy man, he had lost every right to his country, and that his life even was forfeited to its laws. Yet Sir Thomas, having asked him if he had any desire to revisit his native country, was astonished to hear him declare, that this desire was so strong and so deeply rooted, that he was ready to brave every danger in order to behold once more the country which gave him birth. These feelings were expressed with such warmth and earnestness, as left no room to doubt their sincerity. Sir Thomas was so much affected, that he offered him a conveyance to Britain, along with any of his family who chose to accompany him. Adams showed the strongest disposition to accept the proposal; but it was first necessary to communicate with his family, and the rest of the little community to which he belonged. They were all standing at the door, which Adams opened, and stating his intentions, solicited their acquiescence. A most affecting scene immediately followed. His amiable daughter burst into an agony of tears, and, addressing herself to Sir Thomas, said, "Oh do not, Sir, take from me my father! Do not take away my best, my dearest friend." Her voice then failed her. His Otaheitean wife burst into similar expressions of sorrow; and all the inhabitants of the illage united in the most earnest and pathetic en-

treaty, that Adams would relinquish so cruel a design. The tears streamed down the faces of all the women, and even among the men not an eye was dry. Sir Thomas never witnessed a scene so replete with interest. Adams's resolution was soon shaken; and it appeared out of the question to be at all accessory in removing him from the head of a little community by whom he was adored, and whom he so carefully instructed in the duties of religion, industry, and friendship. It was therefore fixed that Adams should not go, upon which smiles instantly burst from amid the tears which bedewed the face of his lovely daughter, and the serenity of the whole party was speedily restored.

The greatest want of this little family was that of the means of reading and writing, and it might be rendering them an easy and important service in some of the South Sea missions to supply this want. Adams, * though very little skilled in writing, had been at great pains to preserve the chronology of the period during which he resided at Pitcairn Island. After having exhausted his little stock of paper and ink, he had betaken himself to a slate and stone pencil, and had kept such a careful record of each day, with the week, month, and year, to which it belonged, that there was only one day's difference between his calculation and that of the Briton, which difference was accounted for by their having each half circumnavigated the globe from an opposite direction. Sir Thomas accommodated

* Adams, it is believed, was a native of London, and has a brother a respectable waterman on the Thames, near Limehouse, who has, within the last few years, had sundry communications with Pitcairn's Island, and possesses specimens of cloth manufactured there.—Ed.

him with all the paper he could spare. They got from Adams a copy of Captain Cook's first voyage which had belonged to Captain Bligh, and contained a number of marginal notes of his writing.

PARTICULARS

OF THE

DESTRUCTION OF A BRITISH VESSEL

ON THE

COAST OF NEW ZEALAND;

WITH

ANECDOTES OF SOME NEW ZEALAND CHIEFS.

With a Portrait of Tippahee, from an Original Drawing in the possession of George Brown Esq.

CERTAIN philosophers have asserted, that man in savage life presents an image of genuine innocence and simplicity, and that all his powers and feelings are then most happily unfolded. Such theories have been confuted in the most decisive manner, by modern observation. Savage man has been found not only stained with all the crimes to which the most highly civilized society is incident, but abandoned to a fury and frenzy of passion, of which even its most depraved members are never guilty. Of this a dreadful instance is now to be recorded. An English vessel, the Boyd, Captain Thompson (George Brown, Esq. owner), having sailed from the River Thames on the 10th March 1809, arrived at Port Jackson on the 14th August, with convicts to New South Wales, and proceeded

to New Zealand for a cargo of timber. The events which followed are detailed in the following letter from Captain Berry of the City of Edinburgh; before proceeding to give which, however, we shall premise a very short sketch of the singular country and nation, among whom this dreadful adventure took place.

New Zealand was discovered, in 1642, by Abel Tasman, an eminent Dutch navigator, and its coasts were afterwards visited by Quiros, Roggewein, and several others, who all supposed it to form a portion of the great imaginary southern continent, or *Terra Australis*. Captain Cook, however, in his first voyage, sailed completely round it, and discovered that it consisted of two large islands, called by the uncouth names of Poenamoo and Eaheinomauwee. A great part of both is composed of lofty and barren mountains; but many tracts are level and capable of cultivation, though at present they are left entirely to nature. The inhabitants subsist by fishing, or upon fern roots and other spontaneous productions of the earth. They are, perhaps the most savage race known in the world. The small tribes into which the territory is divided, carry on war with a ferocity which has no parallel. They reside in small *hippahs*, or fortified villages on the tops of hills, where they remain in a continual state of watchfulness and alarm. In their combats, the victorious party proceed invariably to that most dreadful consummation, the tearing to pieces and devouring the flesh of their unfortunate captives. In almost every cove where Captain Cook touched, he found human bones lying near large fires, which had been the scene of these execrable festivities. Yet the

same writer describes their domestic conduct, and that of the members of the tribe towards each other, in terms of the highest admiration. He even represents their deportment as peculiarly mild, placid, and gentle, and says that they treat each other with the tenderest affection. The death of their friends and relations is bewailed with the most doleful cries, and they then inflict deep wounds on their faces, till the blood flows down and mixes with their tears. These mournings leave numerous scars, which, with various ornaments of bone or wood, serve, for life, as memorials of those whom they held dear. In their intercourse with Europeans, hostility seems the sentiment first excited, as they can with difficulty conceive any but a hostile motive for coming upon their shores. So soon, however, as they are satisfied that these strangers entertain no hostile intention, and are willing even to do them good offices, they change to a friendship and confidence almost unbounded. Their dispositions were fully experienced by Captain Cook and several other navigators, by whom they have been visited. Unfortunately, in the present instance, circumstances occurred, which called forth all the fury of their vindictive nature. What these were, will appear in the course of the narrative, which we shall now exhibit to our readers, beginning with the letter already alluded to, which we copy from the original, addressed to Mr Brown, the proprietor.

Ship City of Edinburgh,
Lima, 20th Oct. 1810.

SIR—I am very sorry to have the painful task

of introducing myself to you with an account of the loss of your ship Boyd, Captain Thompson.

Towards the end of last year, I was employed at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, in procuring a cargo of spars for the Cape of Good Hope. About the middle of December, the natives brought me an account of a ship's being taken at Wangeroa a harbour about fifty miles to the N. W. At first, we were disposed to doubt the truth of this report; but it every day became more probable from the variety of circumstances of which they informed us, and which were so connected as appeared impossible for them to invent.

Accordingly, about the end of the month, when we had finished our cargo, although it was a business of some danger, I determined to go round.

I set out with three armed boats; but we experienced very bad weather, and, after a narrow escape, were glad to return to the ship. As we arrived in a most miserable condition, I had then relinquished all idea of the enterprise; but, having recruited my strength and spirits, I was shocked at the idea of leaving any of my countrymen in the hands of these savages, and determined to make a second attempt. We had this time better weather, and reached the harbour without any difficulty. Wangeroa is formed as follows: First, a large outer bay, with an island at its entrance. In the bottom of this bay is seen a narrow opening, which appears terminated at the distance of a quarter of a mile, but, upon entering it, it is seen to expand into two large basins, at least as secure as any of the docks on the banks of the Thames, and capable of containing (I think) the whole British navy. We found the wreck of the Boyd in shoal

water at the top of the harbour, a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief. The natives had cut her cables, and towed her up the harbour, till she had grounded, and then set her on fire, and burnt her to the water's edge. In her hold were seen the remains of the cargo; coals, salted seal skins, and planks. Her guns, iron, standards, &c. were lying on the top, having fallen in when her decks were consumed.

The cargo must have been very valuable; but it appears that the captain, anxious to make a better voyage, had come to that port for the purpose of filling up with spars for the Cape of Good Hope.

Not to tire you with the minutiæ of the business, I recovered from the natives a woman, two children, and a boy of the name of Davies, one of your apprentices,—who were the only survivors. I found also the accompanying papers, which I hope will prove of service to you. I did all this by gentle measures; and you will at least admit, that bloodshed and revenge would have answered no good purpose. The ship was taken the third morning after her arrival. The captain, it appears, had been rather too hasty in resenting some slight theft. Early in the morning, the ship was surrounded by a great number of canoes, and many of the natives gradually insinuated themselves on board. *Tippahee*, a chief of the Bay of Islands, and who had been twice at Port Jackson, also arrived. *Tippahee* went into the cabin, and, after paying his respects to the captain, begged a little bread for his men; but the captain received him rather slightingly, and desired him to go away, and not trouble him at present, as he was busy. The

proud old savage (who had been a constant guest at the Governor's table at Port Jackson) was highly offended at this treatment, immediately left the cabin, and, after stamping a few minutes on the deck, went into his canoe. After breakfast, the captain went ashore, with four hands, and no other arms but his fowling-piece. From the account of the savages, as soon as he landed, they rushed upon him; he had only time to fire his piece, and it killed a child. As soon as the captain left the ship, *Tippahee*, who remained alongside in his canoe, came again on board. A number of the sailors were repairing sails upon the quarter-deck, and the remainder were carelessly dispersed about the decks, and fifty of the natives were sitting on the deck. In a moment, they all started up, and each knocked his man on the head. A few ran wounded below, and four or five escaped up the rigging, and in a few seconds the savages had possession of the ship. The boy Davies * escaped into the hold, where he lay concealed for several days, till they were fairly glutted with human blood, when they spared his life. The woman says, that she was discovered by an old savage, and that she moved his heart by her tears and embraces; that he (being a subordinate chief) carried her to *Tippahee*, who allowed him to spare her life. She says, that at this time the deck was covered with human bodies, which they were employed in cutting up; after which, they exhibited a most horrid song and dance, in honour of their victory, and concluded by a hymn of gratitude to their god.

* *Davies was long afterwards in the employment of Mr Brown, but unfortunately lost at sea some years ago.*

Tippahee now took the speaking trumpet, and, hailing the poor wretches at the mast-head, told them that he was now captain, and that they must in future obey his orders. He then ordered them to unbend the sails, they readily complied; but when he ordered them to come down, they hesitated, but he enforced prompt obedience, by threatening to cut away the mast. When they came down, he received them with much civility, and told them he would take care of them; he immediately ordered them into a canoe, and sent them ashore. A few minutes after this, the woman went ashore with her deliverer. The first object that struck her view, was the dead bodies of those men lying naked on the beach. As soon as she landed, a number of men started up, and marched towards her with their patoo patoos; a number of women ran screaming betwixt them, covered her with their clothes, and, by their tears and entreaties, saved her life. The horrid feasting upon human flesh which followed would be too shocking for description. The second mate begged his life at the time of the general massacre; they spared him for a fortnight, but afterwards killed and eat him.

I think had the captain received *Tippahee* with a little more civility, that he would have informed him of his danger, and saved the ship; but that, from being treated in the manner I have mentioned, he entered into the plot along with the others.

I think it is likely that I will receive little thanks for this ample detail of such a melancholy business; but I can assure you, it has been very unpleasant for me to write it; and I could only have been induced to do it from a sense of duty, and a

desire to give you all the information in my power, which, I suppose, may be of some use. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ALEX. BERRY. *

George Brown, Esq. Owner of the Ship Boyd, London.

Captain Berry afterwards, at the request of Mr Constable, the publisher of this Miscellany, communicated the following additional particulars of the circumstances which led to, and which followed this dreadful catastrophe.

In May or June 1808, Captain Ceronci, the master of a sealing vessel, called the Commerce, belonging to Port Jackson, on his return from the southward, entered into the Bay of Islands, and came to an anchor in that part of the harbour which is called Tippoona by the natives, and which then acknowledged the authority of Tippahee, celebrated on account of his voyage to Port Jackson, where he had been treated with the greatest attention by Governor King. Tippahee requested Captain Ceronci to give him a passage to Port Jackson, that he might again have the pleasure of visiting his former friends. On Ceronci's acceding to his request, he begged that he would go with the vessel to Wangeroa, where he assured him that every thing was more abundant, on account of the stores of the natives in his own district being quite exhausted by the whalers, who were continually touching there. Ceronci yielded to the suggestions of

* *This Gentleman is now resident at Sydney in New South Wales, and of the highly respectable Commercial House of Berry and Woolstencroft.*

Tippahee, and, from his own account, was equally pleased with the harbour, the natives, and their chief. As the natives of this district had then little knowledge of Europeans, many trifling articles in common use were to them equal objects of wonder and curiosity. A watch, however, was so much beyond their comprehension, that they to a man agreed in calling it Etua (or God.) Ceronci, proud of possessing an object of so much veneration, used to embrace every opportunity of displaying his Etua. In one of those vain-glorious exhibitions, the redoubted Etua dropt into the water, to the no small terror of the natives. Shortly after this unfortunate occurrence, he left the harbour, but, for some reasons best known to himself, he departed during the night, and without taking leave, which confirmed the natives in their opinion that he had done them an irreparable injury by leaving his Etua behind him as a demon of destruction. Shortly afterwards, a violent epidemic took place amongst them, which carried off great numbers, and amongst others, their adored Kytoke. This they attributed to the devouring spirit left amongst them, and the survivors vowed revenge against the white men, the supposed authors of their calamity. Tippahee, on his voyage to Port Jackson, touched at Norfolk Island, where (being then employed by the Government to evacuate that settlement) I had an opportunity of seeing him, and dined in his company at the house of Captain Piper the Commandant. He was dressed in certain robes of state presented to him on his former visit by Governor King. They were covered with tinsel, and in some measure resembled those worn by a merry Andrew with some im-

provement, emanating from his own invention. He was lame of one leg, on which he wore a black stocking, and on the other a white one. He appeared a man of considerable gravity, displaying an easy consciousness of his own dignity. Upon the whole, he showed himself a man of some observation, and was by no means deficient in intellect, but the most prominent features of his character were a certain shrewdness, and low cunning; from what I had an opportunity afterwards of observing, he was much inferior to several of his countrymen of equal rank. Being the first of his nation of any consideration who appeared at Port Jackson, he obtained unmerited distinction amongst Europeans, and eventually amongst his own countrymen, who were equally dazzled by the riches he brought back, and the attentions which were shown him by men so much superior to themselves. The Europeans, amongst whom he first appeared, had formed a very wrong estimate of the character of savages in general, from their intercourse with the poor natives of New Holland; they were, therefore, surprised to see a man of observation and clear judgment, and regarded him as a phenomenon, when a little more intercourse with the natives of New Zealand would have convinced them that he only displayed the common attributes of his nation.

Tippahee again received every due attention at Port Jackson, and was, after some months, sent back to his own country. In November 1808, the ship Spike, Captain Kingston, arrived in Port Jackson from London, bringing as passenger a son of Tippahee, called Matara, who had been treated in England with every attention, and even introduced

to the Royal family. This young gentleman lived whilst he remained at Sydney in the family of the ci-devant governor Bligh, and afterwards in January following, accompanied me as a passenger in the City of Edinburgh to New Zealand. He spoke English tolerably, dressed and behaved like a gentleman, and, of course, lived in the cabin; he spent, however, the greatest part of the day in company with a countryman of his own, who was employed as a sailor on board, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to regain a knowledge of his national songs and dances. His first appearance at New Zealand in the uniform of a naval officer, not only gratified his own vanity, but excited the greatest applause from his countrymen. In a few days, however, he resumed his national costume, and with it his national habits,—but having been accustomed to delicate treatment for a length of time, his constitution proved unequal to resist the mode of living in use amongst his countrymen. He became affected with a hoarseness which gradually settled on his lungs, and in few months brought him to his grave.

Some time after our second arrival in New Zealand, Tippahee came on board, and we saw him for the last time; he appeared then much altered, and expressed himself as deeply affected by the loss of his son. This happened a short time before the catastrophe of the Boyd, and his concern in that unfortunate affair was a sufficient reason for his not coming near us any more. Captain Ceronci, already mentioned, was our passenger on board the Edinburgh as well as Matara. From his previous account of Wangeroa, we determined to prefer it. On approaching it, however, his tone en-

tirely changed, and he exerted himself in persuading us that the Bay of Islands was far preferable to our purpose, and the winds aided his arguments so effectually, that we were compelled to enter the latter port. The vessel anchored at Tippoona, and on being visited by Tippahee, we were informed of the melancholy events which had taken place at Wangeroa, and that the great Kytoke was then lying dead, and that his funeral was only deferred until he went round to honour it with his presence. He assigned no cause for these calamities, otherwise than by generally observing, that an evil Etua had been busy amongst them.

On requesting his assistance to forward our views in New Zealand, he at once told us that nothing could be done in the Bay of Islands, and urged us strongly to go round to Wangeroa, which he said now belonged to him by right of inheritance from the death of Kytoke. Before, however, adopting his proposal, we applied to the two brothers, Tupee and Tarra, chiefs of districts on the eastern side of the harbour called Cororarika, and Cowa Cowa. On approaching their village with two boats, which is situated on the side of a little hill; the natives first displayed their flag, consisting of a large piece of scarlet cloth, and came crowding to the beach soliciting us to land. I was then unaccustomed to savages, and for a moment stood upon the bow of the boat, hesitating whether I should trust myself in the midst of such a crowd of uncouth beings, dressed in their rushmats. At this instant a venerable old man, blind of one eye, stalked through the crowd, with an air of authority, pushed back the natives, held out his hand, and assisted me to land. The moment I reached the

shore, this venerable dignitary seized the collar of my coat with his two hands, drew me towards him, and joined noses. Tupee did not appear for some minutes, being employed in changing his national dress for a pair of duck-trowsers, a check shirt, waistcoat, and an old slouched hat, without either jacket or shoes; while still at a respectful distance, he took off his hat, and made a low bow, and on his approach, instead of joining noses, offered his hand in the most friendly manner. All the disadvantages of his present dress could not conceal the dignity of his person, he being a tall, athletic, well proportioned man; his countenance was very prepossessing, and, although his manly cheeks were already furrowed with a few wrinkles, they seemed rather the effect of exposure to the weather, than of time or sorrow; and, on the other hand, his face and manner equally bespoke a man of judgment and humanity; he spoke with great fluency, a mixed jargon of English and New Zealand, which he contrived to render very intelligible. He immediately introduced by name the venerable chieftain, who, as I have already mentioned, received me on landing. This gentleman, he said, was the illustrious Tarra, his own brother, and his equal in power. He also introduced by name the other subordinate chiefs who had collected around us. Having distributed a few presents to Tupee and his chiefs, the purpose of our visit was then explained, when he immediately promised that he would do every thing in his power to accomplish our wishes. As it was late in the afternoon, it became necessary to shorten our visit; and Tupee, on our first invitation, agreed to accompany us to the vessel, although she was an-

chored at a distance of seven miles. On stepping into the boat, and perceiving our muskets, he inquired if they were loaded, and on being answered in the affirmative, in an instant, before we could prevent him, fired several into the air to prove his skill in the use of fire-arms. Our passage to the ship was beguiled by his talents for conversation, and we remained convinced that he was equally facetious and intelligent. Although altogether foreign to my present purpose, it would be unjust not to give this tribute of praise to the characters of Tupee and Tarra. Tarra appeared a man of threescore, Tupee about 45. Tarra's venerable furrowed face was strongly marked with firmness and dignity, and in his youth, before his face was disfigured by the loss of an eye, he is said to have been handsome. Tarra was, however, too much a philosopher to repine at this loss, which was occasioned by a wound he received from a spear in fighting the battles of his country. Tarra's general character was that of firmness and perseverance, a steady attachment to his friends, united to the most unremitted exertions to serve them. He liked white men on account of the physical advantage which he saw they might render his country; but being of the order of the priesthood, was strongly attached to his own national customs. His general integrity might be depended on, and his word was sacred. I do not, however, pretend to describe the old gentleman as perfect, for no doubt interest was his ruling motive; still there is a certain consistence in his conduct worthy of every praise. Tupee, on the other hand, had less firmness and strength of character; he was more liable to be swayed by his passions, and therefore less to

be depended on, though they generally leaned to the side of humanity. Tupee was proud of his acquirements in European manners,—he was a philosopher of the modern school, more attached to innovation than to the ancient usages of his own country; he was, therefore, the subject, in this respect, of the private ridicule of his countrymen. This ridicule, however, they never dared to display in his presence; and really, upon the whole, it was perhaps more the effect of envy than any thing else. Tupee, had he lived in England, would have rivalled Chesterfield in politeness, and perhaps, as a youth of the nineteenth century, he might have been a London dandy. Tupee loved his friends, but, from a certain indolence of constitution, was less active than Tarra to serve them; his fidelity, however, might be depended on. In domestic life, he was exemplary as a husband and a father. The customs of his country allow polygamy; he, however, confined himself to one wife, by whom he had issue,—one daughter, the heiress of Cowa Cowa, then in her infancy. On being asked why he had deviated from the custom of his country, he coolly observed, that where there were more wives than one, there was never any peace in the house. But my friendship for those two respectable characters must not induce me to enlarge farther; I shall merely say, that, under their auspices, from the 1st March to the end of May 1809, we landed the stores, &c. of the ship City of Edinburgh, of 526 tons register, hove her down, completely stripped her of her copper, caulked, repaired her bottom, and resheathed her with plank made of New Zealand pine, and, after completing our repairs, we

made sail for the Feegee Islands, for sandal wood, and again returned to New Zealand, about the end of October, in the same year; and in little more than two months, procured a full cargo of spars, in opposition to difficulties which are foreign to my present purpose to recount, occasioned equally by the Europeans on board, and by hostile tribes of natives. Far be it from me, on the other hand, to confine my praise to Tupee and Tarra, as the conduct of many of their friends was truly admirable, though I must always regard them as the mainsprings of the whole.

During our first stay in New Zealand, we heard nothing of the story of Ceronci's watch. On leaving the harbour, however, with all our friends on board, with a singular fatality, he again dropt a second watch overboard. The venerable Tarra, who was near him, wrung his hands, and uttered a shriek of distress, exclaiming, that Ceronci would be the destruction of the Bay of Islands, as he had already been of Wangerooa. Tupee, however, came up, and endeavoured to compose his brother, treating the whole as a matter of ridicule.

We carried along with us six or eight young Zealanders, who volunteered their services to assist in the navigation of the ship. They were all natives of the Bay of Islands, and in a short time proved equally useful as our best men on board. On our second return to New Zealand, Ceronci was not on board. As our intentions now were to load with spars, we again determined to give the preference to Wangeroa. On approaching the land, our intentions became known to the New Zealanders on board. They immediately came in a body, and requested we would desist, detailing, at great length,

the history of the watch; and when they found that we were determined, they even burst into tears. The winds, as in the former instance, availed more than all their arguments, and compelled us to enter into the Bay of Islands. I say compelled, because we must otherwise have sacrificed a considerable time to gain an uncertain object. On the other hand, we did not give full credit to their assertions, nor, perhaps, do sufficient justice to their motives; for, being well acquainted with the jealousy of neighbouring tribes, we imagined that they were anxious to monopolize all the advantages which were sure to be derived from the ship to their own tribe.

The reception we received at the Bay of Islands was such as might be expected from the terms on which we had formerly lived with the natives, and the characters of Tupee and Tarra. The physical strength of the island was at our command, and rafts of spars came floating down the river as fast as we could take them in.

By the time, however, that the ship was half loaded, news were received of one of their chiefs, who had taken a journey to the southward, being treacherously murdered by the natives. The chiefs were filled with indignation, and vowed revenge. At all their intervals of rest, one or other of their most popular chiefs used to rise up, and make the most moving harangues to the listening multitude. It was a striking sight to see a large multitude, seated on the ground, listening with deep silence and fixed attention to a chief who, on these occasions, used to pace in their front along some stately pine, felled for the purpose of being dragged into the water. He used to begin with expatiat-

ing on the virtues of the deceased, the friendship which he enjoyed with one, and the ties of blood with another. Continuing to expatiate in this strain until he had touched the feelings of every auditor, he next dwelt upon the sad and irreparable loss to all present occasioned by his death. He then, with energy, endeavoured to rouse them from their melancholy, by pointing out the uselessness and folly of unavailing sorrow, and that vengeance was now their indispensable duty. Now rage and indignation used to flash from every eye; and the multitude, to a man, would start up and join their orator in the war-song and dance. The song and dance being ended, the orator once more addressed his hearers to this effect:—"Yes, my friends, we shall have vengeance, but the day is yet at a distance. The white men are our friends, and we have promised to load their ship with the trees of our country. Arise, kill the trees, drag them down to the water, and we will afterwards kill our enemies." On such occasions, an enthusiast might easily have supposed himself transported back to the heroic ages of Greece; the venerable Tarra might well have been compared to Nestor; Tupee to the silver-tongued Ulysses; and the proud, impassioned, and unbending Metenangha to Achilles. The consequence of all this was, that their love of vengeance gradually overcame their love of riches (axes and other iron tools), and they began to collect war canoes from different quarters. Our work got on more slowly, and they were evidently impatient to get rid of us. About this time, one morning very early, on leaving my cabin, I observed a number of strangers sitting on the gangway, and Tarra in deep conversa-

tion with them. Tarra, perceiving us preparing to despatch two boats for spars, immediately left the strangers, and desired us not to despatch the boats until he had some private conversation with the captain and myself. Being admitted into the cabin, he first desired us to purchase what we wanted from the natives, and then to dismiss them, when he would inform us of something which deeply concerned our own safety. His request being complied with, he then informed us that he had received accounts from those people of the capture of a ship by the natives of Wangeroa, who had killed and eaten the captain and crew; that the Wangeroons having procured the fire-arms and ammunition of that ship, and, elated with their victory, although only the result of surprise and treachery, had determined to come round, and attack our ship. Therefore, he observed, you must no longer weaken yourselves by sending away boats for spars, but must keep all your men on board, and quit New Zealand as soon as possible;—and, besides, while it may be necessary to remain here, you ought to receive on board all my friends and dependents to assist in defending you. Tarra, on being further questioned, informed us that the vessel carried 20 great guns, and 40 men; which, together with their former anxiety to get rid of us, rendered the story hardly credible. Upon the whole, however, I determined neither to slight Tarra's advice, nor to allow my object to be defeated by vamped up stories. I discouraged the report among the sailors, lest they should get disheartened, and proceeded in my undertaking with increased activity, but with greater caution and

vigilance. For some time the report hardly gained credit even among the natives; and, on mentioning the affair to Tupee some days after, while he was superintending the wood-cutters, he merely observed that he had heard such a report, but that it had gone in at the one ear, and out at the other. In a short time, however, it received such confirmation as to compel belief; the circumstances related being not only so consistent with one another, but of such a nature as evidently to exceed the powers of invention possessed by the natives. I therefore thought it indispensable to arrange a party for the purpose of ascertaining the fact, and liberating some captives who were said to have escaped the general carnage. Having advanced thus far, I am unwilling to repeat what I have said in another place, and shall, therefore, only state some circumstances illustrative of the character of the natives.

They, to a man, inveighed against the danger and folly of such an attempt, and made use of every argument to dissuade me from undertaking it. No argument could induce any of them to accompany me. They observed, that, after the fidelity with which they had so long served us, it was ungenerous to ask them, as such a thing would infallibly embroil them with the natives of Wangeroa, who, in whatever way the undertaking ended, would certainly take revenge upon them after the departure of our ship, and that they had now great advantage from the possession of so many European arms. They, however, gave me abundant directions how to guard against being surprised. I, however, prevailed upon a young Zealander, who had been along with us on our

former voyage, and who had engaged to go to Europe in the vessel, to accompany us, it being essential to have a New Zealander along with us, in order to bring about an interview with his countrymen at Wangeroa. As we had only 24 muskets on board, and the party to Wangeroa consisted of 22, including the New Zealander and myself, it became necessary to borrow from Tupee and Tarra all the fire-arms in their possession for the defence of the ship in my absence. These arms were up the country, and a delay of some days took place before their arrival. As the time was pressing, I could not wait for them; but, trusting entirely to their fidelity, I left the ship guarded merely by her two six-pounders, and two or three defective pieces. I went out, however, in the night, that my expedition might not be generally known among the natives. On returning again to the ship next night, being driven back by a gale of wind, I found that the muskets had arrived, and that the cabin was filled with Tupee, Tarra, and many of their friends, who had come on board for the safety of the ship. A few days previous to this undertaking, a young native of Otaheite, known by the name of Tom, absconded from the ship with a young female to whom he was attached. This young man, although not particularly serviceable as a sailor, was, notwithstanding, a great favourite on board, and on many occasions rendered considerable service from speaking English and the New Zealand language, which is a dialect of his own, with equal facility; the loss of him, therefore, was considerably felt.

While preparing the boats for the second attempt to go to Wangeroa, one of the mates said

that he had been informed that Tom had gone away with a man that was under the authority of Metenangha, a chief considerably attached to us, and who was then on board. I immediately informed him of what I had heard, and desired that he would take measures for the recovery of the man. His answer was, that he had no control over the man who had taken away Tom, and, therefore, could do nothing for his recovery. Convinced of the contrary from what I had just heard, I observed with some warmth, that it was a pity to see a man of his rank disgrace himself by decoying away our sailors, after all the attentions we had shown him, and, at the same time, turned from him with a degree of contempt, and walked towards the cabin. Metenangha was strongly moved by such unusual treatment, and called me back several times by name in a manner that showed his agitation. As I did not attend to him, he ran towards me, and seized my arm, declaring, with great emotion, that he had been my friend from our first arrival in the country, and had rendered us every service in his power; that he was perfectly innocent of the crime alleged against him; that he could not bear to be treated in such an unworthy manner; that he would, therefore, leave the ship immediately, and I should never see him more. Unwilling to bring matters to this extremity, I immediately offered him my hand, observing that I would say no more on the subject, if he would accompany me to Wangeroa. Yes, he replied, taking my hand, I will go with you; my presence will insure you every thing you require at that place. You shall see what a great man I am. The men of Wangeroa are a small

people, and must do what I order. Thus a most trifling circumstance, at first not of the most auspicious kind, produced in a moment what all my persuasion, promises and bribes, were unable to effect. Let it not be supposed that Metenangha was or could be at all accessory to the catastrophe of the Boyd, because he claimed, whether true or not, an authority over the people of Wangeroa; for at the time that unhappy occurrence took place, he was employed in procuring spars for our ship. From the confidence I reposed in Metenangha, every thing, on our reaching Wangeroa, was left to his management. He landed ashore by himself, and directed the boats to a more convenient landing-place, where he quickly joined us with two of the principal chiefs and several of their friends, who had been engaged in the massacre of the Boyd. Those gentlemen, dressed in canvas, the spoil of the ship, approached us with the greatest confidence, held out their hands, and addressed me by name in the style and manner of old acquaintances. The conversation soon turned upon the capture of the ship, which, far from avoiding, they delighted to dwell upon, evidently regarding it as a most heroic exploit, in the same way as a party of British tars look back with pleasure to some successful attempt against an enemy's ship of superior force. They readily mentioned the name of the ship and captain, the number of men and guns. I then asked the reason of the attack, "Because," they replied, "the captain was a bad man." On inquiring what he had done, they answered, that some of their chiefs having secreted the carpenter's axe beneath his clothes, the theft was detected before he left the ship, in consequence of which, the

captain tied him to the capstan, where he kept him for several hours, and threatened to flog him. On my remarking that the conduct of the chief merited the treatment he received, they replied, that any indignity offered to a chief was never forgiven. I then inquired if there were any survivors, to which they readily replied in the affirmative, mentioning their names with great familiarity, and even with an appearance of kindness and sympathy. They were then informed that we had come to Wangeroa for the purpose of delivering the captives. I then pointed to my men and their muskets on the one hand, and to the heaps of axes on the other, bidding them take their choice, and either deliver the captives peaceably, when they should be paid for their ransom, or I would otherwise attack them. The chief, after a moment's hesitation, replied with great quickness, that trading was better than fighting, then give us axes and you shall have your prisoners. He now pointed the way to his settlement, and desired us to go with our boats, and that he himself would go round by land. I, however, compelled him to get into the boat, and go along with us. He was for few moments a good deal daunted on finding himself entirely in our power, but soon recovered from his alarm, and talked on every subject with the greatest coolness and composure. A winding tide river, so narrow as hardly to leave room for a boat to turn, with low banks covered with mangroves, conducted us to their settlement. On our passage up, the natives, concealed among the mangroves, saluted us with their muskets, whether with a view to honour our arrival and celebrate their reconciliation with the white men, or to convince us that

they were as well armed as ourselves, I did not learn. On reaching the settlement, we found a great crowd collected, of whom several of the females were decently dressed as Europeans. We were told that the prisoners were then up the country, that they would immediately send for them, and that they would be delivered up the next morning. The chiefs then pressed us to sleep amongst them all night, promising to provide plenty of fish and potatoes for our supper. Metenangha and our young friend Towaaki seconded their request with great earnestness. Towaaki, seeing me bent against it, went so far as to ask if I felt afraid to sleep among so many natives; observing that Metenangha was our assured friend, all present were Metenangha's friends, and therefore they must be mine. That the captain and my people had frequently slept with every security in the midst of his friends on former occasions, and might now do so with equal safety. I could only reply to this reasoning, that, although perfectly assured of my own safety, and the firm friendship of Metenangha and his friends, still that I thought it preferable to sleep with our men on a small island near the remains of the Boyd, but recommended him and Metenangha to sleep with his countrymen. The natives again promised to bring down the prisoners next morning, as soon as the tide flowed enough to allow their canoes to leave the river. I now observed, from the tide ebbing, that our boats would soon be aground, and was therefore obliged to hasten our departure, not without observing some slight attempts to detain us by compulsion, by the same chief whom I had just compelled to accompany us round in the boats.

and, although no doubt from equally harmless motives, still the attempt rendered our departure for the moment more urgent, lest it might have been necessary to repel violence by violence, which might have entirely defeated our object. I thought it quite unnecessary to keep the chiefs in my possession, being fully convinced, that, as they had acquired confidence by once putting themselves in our power without danger, they would do the same a second time without scruple. It is singular that, although they said the prisoners were at a distance up the country, the female survivor afterwards related that she was kept seated among the natives in the bushes, so near as to overhear the whole conversation between them and myself.

I had so much confidence in Metenangha and Towaaki, that I believed we might have accepted their invitation to sleep in the midst of the natives with safety; but as there was nothing to gain by such a step, I thought it unwise to incur any risk. On the other hand, we had just examined the miserable remains of the Boyd;—we had seen the mangled fragments and fresh bones of our countrymen, with the marks even of the teeth remaining upon them; and it certainly could not be agreeable to pass the night by the side of their devourers. The island where we took up our abode for the night was a small perpendicular rock, where we could have defended ourselves against any number of New Zealanders. Here we made a fire, cooked some victuals, and passed the night in safety. About one in the morning we received a visit from our friend Towaaki, who came to assure us that the chiefs would keep their word; adding, that he had seen the lady, to whom one of the chiefs being at-

tached, which was the cause of her being detained here for a night longer. Next morning the natives, agreeable to promise, brought to our quarters a young woman and her sucking child, and a boy belonging to the vessel about fifteen years old. On inquiring at the female whether there were any other survivors, she mentioned the infant daughter of Mr Commissary Broughton, with whose family I was intimately acquainted, I thereon applied to the chief, demanding its restitution, observing, that it was of more importance than all the others, who were strangers to me, but that Mr Broughton was my brother, employing the word in the emphatic sense used by the natives, who often employ it to signify that relation which subsists between friends or equals. He replied, that it was in the possession of the chief of the island, at the entrance of the harbour; that this island being under his authority, he would send one of his people to order its being given up to me. I then told him he must go himself, as perhaps the chief of the island might not obey the orders of his servants. Make yourself easy, (he replied), you shall have the child, but I will not go with you as the sea is very rough outside. His refusal was peremptory, and there was no time to parley; I, therefore, to the no small consternation of their attendants, compelled the two principal chiefs and several of their followers to go into the boats. On reaching the island I sent ashore one of the followers, who received orders from the chief to demand the delivery of the child. A long conversation took place between him and his countrymen, and no child appearing for upwards of an hour, I began to be greatly alarmed for its

safety. This delay, I afterwards had reason to believe, proceeded from the endeavours of the natives to deliver it up in as decent a manner as possible. It was tolerably clean, with its hair dressed and ornamented with white feathers, in the fashion of New Zealand. Its only clothing, however, consisted of a linen shirt, which, from the marks upon it, had belonged to the captain. The poor child was greatly emaciated, and its skin was excoriated all over. When brought to the boat it cried out in a feeble and complaining tone, "Mamma, my mamma!"

Having thus given a detailed account of such circumstances connected with the loss of the Boyd as at present occur to my memory, it only remains for me to say a few words concerning the survivors. We left New Zealand with a cargo of spars about the 6th January 1810. Bound to the Cape of Good Hope, the early part of our voyage was prosperous; but, about the middle of February, being then 57° S. lat., we lost our rudder in a gale of wind. It would be foreign to my present purpose to enlarge upon the consequences of this event. Suffice it to say, that we drifted about at the mercy of the elements amongst the ice of the Southern Ocean, were afterwards driven into a bay on the west coast of Terra del Fuego, about forty miles to the south of Magellan's Straits, where we lost all our anchors and cables, and only at last saved the ship by keeping her for many days fast along side of the rocks. This bay I chose, like a second Crusoe, to call the Bay of Providence. After suffering considerable distress, and escaping the most imminent dangers, we arrived at Valparayso about the end of May; and, after giving some repairs to the ship, sailed for Lima, where we arrived in

August. In this latter place, circumstances compelled us to remain ten months, during which period the female died, as was supposed, from the consequence of her own irregularities. Davies, the boy, came to England in an English vessel called the Archduke Charles. The children were regarded by the humane Spaniards with the greatest interest. They considered it as a mysterious act of God's providence to bring the unoffending innocents to a Christian country, where they might be educated in the Holy Catholic faith, without danger of being tainted by the heresy of their parents and countrymen.

Miss Broughton was taken under the immediate care of the lady of Don Gaspar Rico, the Director of the Company of the Five Gremios, and became a general favourite. She soon acquired such a knowledge of the Spanish language as to speak it equally well as any native child of her own age, in a country where all the children are remarkable for their early development of intellect. Notwithstanding her tender age, she had a perfect recollection of the massacre of the Boyd. I have more than once been present when the cruel but interesting question was put to her, if she recollected what the Zealanders did to her Mamma? Her countenance, on such occasions, assumed the appearance of the deepest melancholy; and, without uttering a word, she used to draw her hands across her throat. On farther questions, she would say, with every appearance of the most painful feeling, that they afterwards cut her up, and cooked and eat her like victuals. No one acquainted with human nature can suppose this perfect recollection of circumstances incompatible with her feeble and plaintive cries after

her Mamma on being brought down to the boats. Don Gaspar Rico was equally attached to his little protegee as his lady. On one occasion, having taken her along with him into his study, after some time he observed, that, from being unusually lively and full of play, she suddenly became serious, and sat down upon the sofa, where she continued for a considerable time absorbed in the deepest melancholy. Fearing that she was ill, he inquired affectionately what was the matter. Ah! she replied, clasping her little hands, I am thinking what they did with my Mamma. The interest which the extraordinary history of the little creature at first excited, readily ended in a most affectionate attachment from her endearing qualities, more particularly as Mrs Rico had no children of her own. In a little, Mrs Rico could not bear the idea of parting from her little charge, and every endeavour was made to induce me to permit it to remain with her for at least some years. I considered, however, that I had no discretionary power, and that it was my bounden duty to return the child, under all circumstances, to its father. Therefore, as the solicitations became so urgent, and as I could not help sympathizing in the affection which subsisted between Mrs Rico and the child, I began, with good reason, to distrust my own resolution; and, lest I might sacrifice my duty to my feeling, found it necessary to forego the pleasure I derived from visiting in that family. The other child remained, as may be supposed, under the care of its own mother during her lifetime. After her death, it was taken into the house of a Spaniard, from which, with great difficulty, I took it away on the sailing of the ship, after paying a considerable sum

r its nursing. It was considerably younger; not uch a fine child as the other, although sufficiently ealthy and lovely; and, from the conduct of its nother, did not excite so much interest as the other.

From Lima the ship proceeded to Guayaquil, where she loaded with cacao for Cadiz. She afterwards arrived at Rio Janeiro in December 1811, two full years from the time of the survivors of the Boyd being received from the New Zealanders. In the harbour of Rio Janeiro, we found a small whaling vessel, called the Atlanta, about to sail for Port Jackson, the captain of which (his name I do not at present recollect) being acquainted with Mr Broughton, offered to take charge of his daughter, which offer was acceded to, on his also agreeing to take the other child to its father. I know that the two children reached Port Jackson in safety.

ALEX. BERRY.

London January 1819,

To Arch^d. Constable Esq.

THE END.

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